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A LETTER  
TO  
LORD JOHN MANNERS,  
ETC.

LONDON :  
RICHARDS, PRINTER, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE

DID THE  
EARLY CHURCH IN IRELAND

ACKNOWLEDGE

THE  
POPE'S SUPREMACY ?

ANSWERED,

IN

A LETTER

TO

LORD JOHN MANNERS,

FROM

DANIEL ROCK, D.D.



20328

LONDON :

CHARLES DOLMAN, 61, NEW BOND STREET.

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1844.

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A LETTER  
TO  
LORD JOHN MANNERS.

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MY LORD,

§ 1. UNDER every form of government, especially in one framed as is our own, there will always be some whose opinions must fall with great weight on the public mind. The impression made, will be more or less deep, according to the height in the world's estimation to which, owing to a variety of circumstances, such influential individuals have been uplifted. One man, by dint of strong mental endowments, makes his way through the crowd, and wins for himself a lofty standing in the eyes of his approving countrymen ; another reaches the same height, borne aloft by single-mindedness, honesty of purpose, and unflinching courage ; while not a few, for sake of their noble birth, and ancient widely-branching pedigree, are, through becoming national feelings, listened to, always with courtesy, often with breathless eagerness.

§ 2. When, however, the country is addressed by an individual who brings along with him, not merely one, but several of such recommendations ; and to the accidental circumstance of a splendid

lineage, adds, from himself, stern political honesty, a manly love for truth and uprightness, gifts of head and warmth of heart, which afford a fair earnest of working much public good hereafter, a lofty, nay, a chivalrous moral courage; then, indeed, the impression is not only deep, but lasting. Should such a statesman, however unwittingly, make an assertion, not only unsupported, but even gainsaid by all the testimonies furnished by history; still, his words will be believed among the great bulk of the empire, and pass from mouth to mouth to its furthest bounds, upon the lone authority of this esteemed individual. Perhaps some of the worst evils which befall a commonwealth, are those which take their rise from the unwilling errors of worthy public men.

§ 3. Under no slight feelings of grief, was it, therefore, my Lord, that I read some passages in the otherwise admirable speech, which you are reported to have delivered during the debate (June 19th, 1843) on "The Irish Arms Bill," in the House of Commons. You are there made to say, that "If there be one fact in Irish history more clear than another, it is, that the Roman Catholic Church was not the Church of the Irish people originally: that Church was for hundreds of years independent of Rome, and it was not till an English king conquered Ireland, that the supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged by it."

§ 4. To bear yourself through such an assertion, your Lordship leans upon the weak and yesterday's authority of a modern Irish writer; for you go on to observe:—"This, Sir, is no curious opinion, tortured out of obscure records, but is a received fact, stated in strong terms, among other historians, by Mr. O'Driscoll, a Roman Catholic himself: I believe Mr. O'Driscoll says,—‘There is something very singular in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The Christian Church of that country, as founded by St. Patrick and his predecessors, existed for many ages free and unshackled. It had no connexion with England, and differed upon points of importance with Rome. The first work of Henry II, was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly he procured a council of the Irish clergy to be held at Cashel, in 1172, and the combined influence and intrigues of Henry and the Pope prevailed. This council put an end to the ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome. From the days of St. Patrick, to the council of Cashel, was a bright and glorious career for Ireland. From the sitting of this council to our time, the lot of Ireland has been universal evil, and all her history a tale of woe.’”

§ 5. What may be the religious belief held by Mr. O'Driscoll, whether that writer be a Catholic or a Protestant, I know not. In truth, this is a

matter quite beside the purpose; for in going over an historian's book, we have to deal less with the writer's faith, than with his facts. If I have my strong doubts of the Catholicism of him who penned the extracts quoted above from the "Views of Ireland"; of this I am quite sure, that such a writer must be mournfully unacquainted with the early history of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

§ 6. Had the opinions which your Lordship has, by adoption, made your own, concerning the belief and practices of the early Irish Church, appeared merely in such works as the "Views of Ireland"; or been spoken by Irishmen who have been brought up with warmer likings for the exotic Orange lily, than their own home-grown, bright green shamrock, and who seem always to have hanging over their eyes, the Dutchman's emblematic flower, so as to tinge their sight in such a way, that whatsoever they happen to behold, may be viewed through a yellow light; the expression of such opinions would have awakened, in my mind, no other feelings than astonishment at the recklessness of the writer, and pity for the lack of common knowledge shown by the men who gave them utterance. I should have smiled in security at the dart thus hurled at the present Catholic Church in Ireland, knowing that it would fall guiltless of any harm, and be, like Priam's feeble spear,

"— *telumque imbelle sine ictu.*"



Not so, however, with words that fall from Lord John Manners. To whatever assertions he borrows of others, he lends a weight and a strength not theirs, from his own stirring worth. Such is the warm-heartedness, — such, too, the love, with which he often speaks of the good and holy things, and of those times when our dear England was merry England indeed ; such is that deep reverence which he is known to cherish for truth ; such the high-minded, chivalrous, moral courage which he puts forth in upholding what he believes to be right ; that many, with hearts as warm as his, and with minds fashioned in a mould like his own, adopt, without investigation, his opinions. Lord John Manners is, therefore, too important an assailant to be let go by unheeded, and too courteous a one, to be treated with anything short of the most unfeigned respect. It is hoped, therefore, he will not take the Letter now addressed to him by a stranger, amiss ; as it is presumed he loves truth for her own worth too fondly, not to be glad to rid himself of error and prejudice in any shape ; and is too upright a man not to scorn to lend his aid, however indirectly, in leaving a wrong impression on the minds of others.

§ 7. In those words which I have quoted from your Lordship's speech, wherein you say,—“ If there is one fact in Irish history more clear than another, it is that the Roman Catholic Church

was not the Church of the Irish people originally : that Church was for hundreds of years independent of Rome, and it was not till an English king conquered Ireland, that the supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged by it,"—are embodied three very great and very serious mistakes. The first asserts that the earliest Irish believers held a faith differing from that professed by the whole Catholic world at present, equally with the seven millions of the people of that island now in communion with the see of Rome ; the second asserts that the Church of Ireland, at its beginning, was independent of Rome ; and the third asserts that the Irish Church never recognized, until the invasion of Henry II, the spiritual supremacy of the Roman pontiff.

§ 8. Now, I cheerfully take upon myself to lay bare these mistakes, and to show you, 1°. that the Irish Church was founded by a Pope ; 2°. that from its very beginning, through all ages to the present time, the Irish Church has been closely united with Rome, and while it has acknowledged, has also paid obedience to the papal supremacy ; 3°. that this Irish Church has ever held neither more nor less than that very same religious belief taught by the now reigning Pope Gregory XVI, and professed by the millions of Christians throughout the world keeping up communion with him, and willingly yielding him spiritual obedience as

successor to St. Peter, and sole head on earth of Christ's Church.

# I.

## § 9. That

THE IRISH CHURCH WAS FOUNDED BY A POPE may be easily shown from many sources.

In the first place, then, the Catholic Church in Ireland is a branch which, fourteen centuries ago, sprouted out of, and has never been riven, never has fallen away from, its mother-trunk, the chair of St. Peter, the Church of Rome—the one, true, only tree of Christianity, whose roots are Christ himself, from whom it gets its never-dying strength and grace, and sends these heavenly bequests, like life-giving sap, to the furthest ends of its wide-spreading limbs and boughs, which wave over the uttermost bounds of the world.

§ 10. It was from a bishop of Rome, sitting on the throne of the Prince of the Apostles, the centre of unity and truth, that pagan Ireland first got her Christianity. It was from Rome that to benighted Ireland were sent her first enlighteners, her first Christian teachers, and her first bishops canonically ordained, and lawfully entrusted with the commission of preaching the Gospel, of administering the sacraments, of offering up the great eucharistic sacrifice among her people. It was from Rome, that holy men came, with power to establish a hierarchy, and found a Church in

Ireland for the continuance of this mission, and for the handing down of these divine ordinances of the New Law.

§ 11. This is a fact resting on such strong historical grounds, that no ingenuity can shake, much less overturn it. What the Roman bishop St. Eleutherius was to our own island, under the Britons;<sup>1</sup> what another bishop of Rome, St. Gregory the Great, was to it later, under the Anglo-Saxon sway, the very same was Pope St. Celestine to the Irish—their Apostle—by commissioning holy men to go over, and spread the gladsome tidings of the Gospel among them. Ireland, like England, stands indebted to Rome, and to her

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<sup>1</sup> Anno ab incarnatione Domini centesimo quinquagesimo sexto, Marcus Antonius Verus, decimusquartus ab Augusto, regnum cum Aurelio Commodio fratre suscepit; quorum temporibus cum Eleutherius vir sanctus pontificatui Romanæ ecclesiæ præesset, misit ad eum Lucius Britanniarum rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur, et mox effectum piæ postulationis consecutus est; susceptamque fidem Britanni usque in tempora Dioclesiani principis inviolatam integramque quæta in pace servabant.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. c. iv. p. 16. ed. Stevenson, Lond. 1838.*

Quibus etiam diebus Lucius Britannię rex missa ad Eleutherium Romæ episcopum epistola, ut Christianus efficeretur impetrat.—FRECULFI *Chron. tom. ii. lib. ii. cap. xxi. Bib. Pat. ed. Binio. tom. ix. par. 1, p. 512.* Florebat Freulfus circa A.D. 824.

Popes, for the same boon—for their Christianity. Fugacius and Damianus were sent by Pope St. Eleutherius to convert the Britons; St. Austin, and the forty monks his companions, were sent to the Anglo-Saxons by Pope St. Gregory the Great, and to the Irish were sent, first, St. Palladius, and, after his death, St. Patrick, by Pope St. Celestine. With regard to the latter fact, it is one to which the most unimpeachable writers, Irish as well as foreign, bear witness, that Ireland received her hierarchy, directly and immediately, from Rome, along with her first teachers of the Gospel.

§ 12. To allow the evidence of those early writers who will be brought forwards during this enquiry, to have all their weight, it may, perhaps, not be amiss to observe, at the outset, that, up to the end of the eleventh century, and even somewhat later,

*The Irish people were almost always called Scotti or Scots, and their island very often designated Scotland.*

This may be seen in the works both of the native Irish, and of strangers, but especially in Orosius,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam sita . . . . . a Scotorum gentibus colitur.—P. OROSII, *Hist. lib. i. cap. ii. apud. Vet. Pat. Biblioth.* ed. Gallandio. *Tom. ix. p. 66.* Circa A.D. 419.

St. Patrick,<sup>1</sup> Fiec the ancient Irish bard,<sup>2</sup> St. Columbanus,<sup>3</sup> that saint's scholar Jonas,<sup>4</sup> our own venerable St. Beda, and Alfred the Great,<sup>5</sup> Rhabanus

<sup>1</sup> Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini qui utique Hyberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat, et filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi fiebant et virgines Christi quot enumerare nequeo.—*Epist. S. Patricii ad Coroticum apud Bolland. Act. SS. Martii ii. p. 359.*

<sup>2</sup> Patricius prædicabat Scotis.

*Carmen vetus Hibernicum FIECI. apud O'Connor Prolegom. in Rer. Hib. Vet. Scrip. p. xciii. Scriptum fuit circa A.D. 540. Ibid. p. lxxxix.*

<sup>3</sup> Rex gentilis peregrinum scribere Longobardus, Scotum hebetem rogat.—*Epist. S. COLUMBANI ad Bonifacium Papam IV. opera S. COL. apud Gall. Vet. Pat. Biblioth. t. xii. p. 355. Circa A.D. 610.*

<sup>4</sup> Columbanus igitur qui et Columba dicitur, ortus est ex Hibernia insula in extremo oceani sita. Hanc Scottorum gens incolit.—*Vita S. COLUMBANI, auctore Jona circa A.D. 615, apud Mabillon Act. SS. O. B. tom. ii. p. 5.*

<sup>5</sup> Dives lactis ac mellis insula (Hibernia)—Hæc autem proprie patria Scottorum.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 1, p. 12.*

Veterum Britanniae incolarum necnon et Scottorum qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniae proximam incolunt, populis pastorem impendere sollicitudinem curabat. (Laurentius.) Siquidem ubi Scottorum in præfata ipsorum patria, etc.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. iv. p. 106.*

Alfred the Great, in translating this passage of Beda's Ecclesiastical History:—"necnon et Mevanias Britonum insulas quæ inter Hiberniam et Britanniam sitæ sunt,

Maurus,<sup>1</sup> the unknown writer of St. Deicolus's life,<sup>2</sup> Baltheus,<sup>3</sup> ancient Irish Annals,<sup>4</sup> St. Bern-

Anglorum subjecit imperio," *lib. ii. c. v. p.* 110, shows that the Anglo-Saxons in his days, A.D. 871, gave the name of Scotland to Ireland; for he renders it thus:—"Swylce he eac Monige Brytta ealond tha syndon gesette betwih Hibernia *Scotland* 7 Breotone," &c.—BEDA, *ed.* Whelock, *p.* 120, *ed.* Smith, *p.* 506.

Nay, Beda himself bestows the name of Scotland upon Ireland, in his account of the arrival in England of Fursey. "Supervenit de Hibernia vir sanctus nomine Furseus—Erat autem vir iste de nobilissimo genere Scottorum.—Cum ergo—multis annis in Scotia verbum Dei omnibus annuncians—ab ipsa quoque insula patria discessit."—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. xix. pp.* 197, 198, 202.

<sup>1</sup> Natale Chilianus martyris, et duorum sociorum ejus qui ab Hibernia Scottorum insula venientes, nomen Christi in prædictis locis prædicaverunt, etc.—RHABANUS *in Martyrol. apud* Canisium, tom. ii. pte. 2, p. 333. Rhabanus Florebat circa A.D. 845.

<sup>2</sup> Cui vir Domini (S. Deicolus): Scottigena, inquit, frater sum et peregrinus pro Christo. *Vita S. DEICOLI, c. vi. p.* 205. *Acta Sanct. apud* Bolland. *Tom. ii. Januarii, auct. anonym. circa* A.D. 965.

<sup>3</sup> Beatus Fridolinus ab extremis partibus inferioris Scotiæ oriundus esse non ambigitur: quæ videlicet apud ipsos Scotigenas Hibernia nuncupata, etc. *Vita S. FRIDOLINI a Baltheo monacho scripta, seculo ix. apud* Bolland. *Act. SS. Martii, tom. i. p.* 436.

<sup>4</sup> Laegare mc Neill regnum Hiberniæ tenuit, cujus tertio anno exacto, Patricius archiepiscopus in Hiberniam venit

ard,<sup>1</sup> Gervase the monk of Canterbury;<sup>2</sup> and a modern author<sup>3</sup> candidly acknowledges this fact.

§ 13. We will begin our search into the question of the birth and growth of Christianity among the Irish, with the testimony of a continental writer most worthy of belief, for he is one who speaks of things coming to pass not only in his own lifetime, but close under his very eyes. This is St. Prosper of Aquitain, the friend and familiar of

*St. Celestine (A.D. 422-432) the Roman Pontiff  
who gave Ireland her first bishop in the person of  
St. Palladius,*

in the year of our Lord 430. Glancing at the heresy broached not many years before by a British monk whose name was Morgan, but, un-

atque Scotos baptizare inchoavit.—ANNALES BUELLIÆ, *apud* O'Connor, *Epis. Nuncup. Rer. Hib. Scriptores. Tom. i. p. 47.*

<sup>1</sup> Ab ulteriori Scotia usque huc cucurrit ille (Malachias) ad mortem.—S. BERNARDUS *in Vita* S. Malachiæ, *apud* Surium, *tom. vi. p. 112.*

<sup>2</sup> Exin cœpere plures de Scottorum, id est, Hiberniensium regione venire Britanniam.—GERVASIUS DORBERNENS. *apud Hist. Anglic. Scriptores*, ed. Twysden. *Tom. ii. p. 1635. Circa A.D. 1201.*

<sup>3</sup> From the consent of all antiquity the name Scoti belonged to the Irish alone till the eleventh century. *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland. Vol. ii. p. 261.*



happily, too widely known to Christendom as Pelagius, whence his heterodox opinions were called Pelagianism, St. Prosper tells us that the then Roman Pontiff Celestine bestowed—"a care anything but sluggish, as he freed Britain from the disease of Pelagianism, when he drove out from that secret nook of the ocean, certain enemies of grace occupying the land of their birth, and, by having ordained a bishop for the Irish, whilst he studied to keep the Roman island (Britain) Catholic, he also brought a barbarian one (Ireland) to become Christian."<sup>1</sup>—If a key be wanting to unlock the whole meaning of these words of St. Prosper, we may soon find one by casting an eye on some passages in the "Chronicle" of the same writer, in which he informs us that—"Agricola the Pelagian, son of the Pelagian bishop Severianus, corrupted, by an insinuation of his opinion, the Churches of Britain; but, at the instance of Palladius the deacon, Pope Celestine sends, in his own stead, Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Nec segniori cura ab hoc eodem morbo (hærisi Pelagiana) Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiæ solum suæ originis occupantes etiam ab illo secreto exclusit oceani; et ordinato Scotis Episcopo dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam.—S. PROSPER *contra Collator*, c. 41. Florebat circa A.D. 450.

heretics being overthrown, he directs the Britons to the Catholic faith.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 14. Acting under the immediate authority, and in the person, of the bishop of Rome, “in whose stead” he came, this holy prelate St. Germanus, along with St. Lupus of Troyes, landed in Britain, during the spring of the year A.D. 429. In the year following, this same watchful deacon of the Apostolic see, who had pointed out to the eyes of the successor of St. Peter, Celestine, the stealthy creepings of Pelagianism among his fold in Britain, was himself chosen by that Pope to go to Ireland as a missionary from Rome; for the “Chronicle” goes on to tell us that—“By Pope Celestine is Palladius ordained and sent the first bishop to the Irish, believing in Christ.”<sup>2</sup>

§ 15. St. Prosper’s evidence is most weighty: he was one of the leading men of the age; he lived at the time, and was intimately acquainted with the

<sup>1</sup> Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani episcopi Pelagiani filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione, corrupt, sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi, Papa Cælestinus Germanum Antisiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis hæreticis, Britannos ad Catholicam fidem dirigit. S. PROSPERI *Chronicon tom. i. Rer. Gal. Fol. Paris.* 1738, p. 630, Anno 429; et BEDA, *Hist. Ecc. Ang. lib. i. c. xvii.*

<sup>2</sup> Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Cælestino Palladius, et primus episcopus mittitur.—PROSPERI AQUIT. *Chron.* ad annum 434, *ibid.*

personages who acted in the above rehearsed events. Could we, therefore, bring forward no other witnesses, his single testimony, which has never been impeached, would alone be quite enough to show that to a bishop of Rome was pagan Ireland indebted, first, for her conversion to the Gospel, and afterwards for her hierarchy.

§ 16. Surely if any one can tell us whence Christianity came to Ireland, and who were the masters and teachers of its people, in this divine learning, it must be a man like St. Columbanus; born, as he was, and bred in Ireland, and who shone so brightly amid those lights which irradiated the Church towards the end of the sixth, and at the beginning of the seventh century. Now we are plainly told by this great Irish saint, that his country got her faith from Rome; and that all Irishmen, free as they had been from the stain of heresy, and never torn away by schism, looked upon themselves as the pupils of the Roman Pontiffs, and revered them, like their forefathers did, as the masters and spiritual parents of the Irish people. Thus it is that St. Columbanus reminds Pope Boniface IV that the Roman pontiffs sent the gospel to Ireland:—

“As your friend, your scholar, your servant, not as a stranger, will I speak; therefore as to our masters, to the steersmen, to the mystic pilots of the ship spiritual; freely will I speak, saying:

watch, for the sea is stormy; watch, for the water has already gotten into the ship of the Church, and the ship is in danger. We are the scholars of SS. Peter and Paul, and of all disciples subscribing, by the Holy Ghost, the divine canon; we are all Irish, inhabitants of the furthest part of the world, receiving nothing beyond the evangelic and apostolic doctrine. None of us has been a heretic, none a Jew, none a schismatic; but the faith, just as it was at first delivered by you the successors, to wit, of the holy apostles, is held unshaken.—For, in a manner befitting scholars to think towards their master, I promised, in your behalf, that the Roman Church would defend no heretic against the Catholic faith. Therefore, take with a willing mind, and pious ears, the insinuation of my needful presumption, for whatever I shall say either useful or orthodox, will be reputed unto you, since the master's praise is in his scholar's doctrine. Wherefore if the son shall have spoken wisely, the father must be gladdened, and the praise will be yours, because, as I have said, has it come from you: for purity is to be reputed not to the stream, but to the fountain-head.<sup>1</sup>” Nor was St. Columbanus the only Irish-

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<sup>1</sup> Ego enim ut amicus, ut discipulus, ut pedisequus vester, non ut alienus loquar; ideo libere loquar nostris utpote magistris ac spiritualis navis gubernatoribus ac mysticis prœteris dicens: Vigilate, quia mare procellosum

man who was loud in telling the world that his native land stood indebted to Rome for its spiritual birth, and its growth in Christianity. Another celebrated ornament of God's Catholic Church in Ireland, during the seventh century, was Cumman the abbot; who, while discussing the Easter question, thus addresses his countrymen:—"We sent those whom we knew to be wise and humble men, as it were *children to their mother*, to Rome,<sup>1</sup> to

est.—Vigilate quia aqua jam intravit in ecclesiae navem, et navis periclitatur. Nos enim SS. Petri et Pauli et omnium discipulorum divinum canonem Spiritu Sancto scribentium discipuli sumus, toti Heberi ultimi habitatores mundi, nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam recipientes. Nullus hæreticus, nullus Judæus, nullus schismaticus fuit; sed fides, sicut a vobis primum sanctorum scilicet apostolorum successoribus tradita est inconcussa tenetur.--Ego enim pro vobis promisi, quod nullum hæreticum Ecclesia Romana diffendat contra Catholicam fidem, sicut discipulos ita decet sentire de magistro. Idcirco libenti animo et piis auribus necessariæ insinuationem præsumptionis meæ suscipite: quidquid enim dixero aut utile aut orthodoxum, vobis reputabitur; laus enim magistri in discipulorum suorum doctrina est; ideo si sapienter locutus fuerit filius, lætificabitur pater, et vestra laus erit, quia a vobis, ut dixi, processit. Non enim rivo puritas, sed fonti reputanda est.—S. COLUMBANI, *Epist. ad Bonifacium IV*, *Biblioth. Vet. Pat. t. xii. p. 352, ed. Gallandio.* \*

<sup>1</sup> Misimus quos novimus sapientes et humiles esse, VELUT NATOS AD MATREM—et ad Romam urbem aliqui ex

make inquiries concerning the time for keeping Easter.”

§ 17. But there are other trustworthy vouchers for this fact. Our own venerable St. Beda,<sup>1</sup> in telling us in more places than one of his writings, that it was to the Roman Church, and to a Roman Pontiff, that Ireland owed her first bishop, uses the very words of St. Prosper ; indeed, the language of history is unequivocal upon this point, and what is asserted by St. Prosper, A.D. 434, by St. Columbanus, A.D. 610, the abbot Cummian, A.D. 650, and by St. Beda, A.D. 701, is repeated by Probus<sup>2</sup> an

eis venientes, &c.—CUMIANUS HIBERNUS. A.D. 650 *apud Usserium Vet. Epis. Hibern. Sylloge*, p. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Our own St. Beda cites this passage in his “Chronicon sive de sex ætatibus sæculi, p. 187. VEN. BEDÆ *Op. Hist.* published by the English Historical Society, London, 1841 : and again says, while speaking of Theodosius the Younger—“Cujus anno imperii octavo Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes a pontifice Romanæ ecclesiæ Celestino primus mittitur episcopus.”—*Hist. Eccles. gentis Anglorum*, l. i. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Palladius archidiaconus Cælestini Papæ, qui quadragessimus quintus a sancto Petro apostolicæ sedî præerat, ordinatus ab eodem papa directus fuerat ad *hanc* insulam (Hyberniam) sub brumali rigore positam, convertendam.—PROBUS *de Vita S. Patricii apud Bedam*, p. 315, t. iii. *Basil.* 1573. From this passage it seems that Probus was in Ireland when he wrote the life of St. Patrick.

Irish writer of the ninth century, by the Annals of the Four Masters,<sup>1</sup> by Marianus Scotus,<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1059, and by Sigebert,<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1101, without referring to other writers, who flourished after the invasion of Ireland by Strongbow, A.D. 1155.

§ 18. But methinks I hear it whispered, that before the coming of Palladius, there were already Christians to be found in Ireland. If there were any, they must have been very few,<sup>4</sup> and very far between. The trials and the persecutions which St. Patrick<sup>5</sup> had to undergo from the pagan Irish

<sup>1</sup> *Ætatis Christi ccccxxx.* In hoc anno misit primus Celestinus Papa Palladium episcopum in Hiberniam, ad prædicandam fidem Hibernigenis, &c.—*Annales 4 Magistrorum*, p. 96, *apud O'Connor Rer. Hibern. Script. t. iii.*

<sup>2</sup> See § 28.

<sup>3</sup> § 29.

<sup>4</sup> Tunc jam Hibernia gentilitati dedita erat: et eo tempore raro singuli Christiani inveniri solebant et poterant ibi esse sine persecutione.—*Ex vita S. Declani apud USSERIUM, Antiquit. p. 409.*

<sup>5</sup> Unde autem Hiberione, qui nunquam notitiam Dei habuerunt nisi idola et immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt: quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini, et filii Dei nuncupantur?—

.... etiam omnes virgines Dei ita hoc faciunt, non sponte patrum earum, sed persecutionem patiantur.

.... sed et illæ maxime laborant, quæ servitio detinentur usque ad terrores et minas assidue perseverant.—*S. PATRICII Confessio apud O'Connor, Rer. Hib. Script. t. i. prolog. i. p. cxiv.*

Druids, princes, people and all, at the beginning of his Apostolic labours among them, forbid us to think that the number of true believers was by any means great, even when that illustrious saint first landed on the Irish shores. It is not, however, at all unlikely that the nearness of Ireland to this country, brought some of the Irish to know the truths of the Gospel, through their intercourse with the believing Britons, to whom such a blessing had been sent, as early as the second age of the Church, from Rome itself, and from a Roman Pontiff, St. Eleutherius. But even then, by getting their Christianity from the Britons, who got it beforehand immediately from Rome, the Irish would still owe their knowledge of religion to a Pope. Here again, however, the fondness of the early Irish Church for her Roman mother, shows itself in that watchfulness with which she has cherished and handed down to the present day, her traditions of having, even from the very beginning, received her first instructors, and her first and authorized anointed teachers, from Rome.

§ 19. The truthful minds of the early Irish Christians were never darkened by misgivings about the right mother, who gave them spiritual birth; nor did the idea of a descent from any of the eastern churches and not from Rome, ever thrust itself upon their thoughts. For the imaginative ingenuity of the present age, was it left to



dream of such an oriental parentage ; and to the boldness of a scanty few in these our days was it reserved to try to lead the world into the belief of such a groundless fiction.

The earliest native traditions of Christian Ireland, link that country to papal Rome.

“About the year of our Lord 360, a certain Christian priest was sent, many years before St. Patrick, from Rome to Ireland, that he might sow the Christian faith there ; by whom St. Ailbe, yet a boy, was baptized.

“About the year 382, Kiaran leaving Ireland, his native land, went to Rome, and having been baptized there, spent twenty years in the study of holy writ.”

“About the year 388, St. Ailbe went from Ireland to Rome, and there learned holy writ under a certain bishop called Hilarius.”

“About the year 397, St. Ailbe was sent by his master St. Hilarius, to the Roman pontiff, by whom he was ordained bishop, and he stayed with him a year and fifty days, along with fifty holy men who had followed him from Ireland ; among whom were twelve of the name of Colman, twelve of that of Coemgeh, or Kevin, twelve of that of Fintan, and St. Declan with his scholars.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Circa* ccclx. Christianus quidam sacerdos multis annis ante Patricium Româ in Hiberniam missus fuisse dicitur,

§ 20. We here behold how the writers of the lives of these saints, who flourished at the beginning of Christianity in Ireland, loved to dwell upon the fact that these holy men went to Rome for the learning of religion, and to get ordination from her Popes, as well as the pontifical authority to go back to Ireland, and preach what they had learned at the foot of St. Peter's chair, to the Irish people.

§ 21. But these writers were not the only ones quickened by such a feeling. Earlier than they, the Irish historians, who have bequeathed to us the annals of their native land, were not less anxious to hold up to their countrymen the remembrance

ut fidem Christi ibi seminaret: a quo S. Albeus puer baptizatus fuisse traditur.—*USSERII, Britan. Eccles. Antiq. Index Chronologicus, p. 512; et ex vita S. Albei, ib. p. 409.*

*Circa ccclxxxii.* Kiaranus, relicta patria Hibernia, Romam adiisse, ibique baptizatus, viginti annis sacrorum librorum lectioni incubuisse, fertur.—*Ibid. 512.*

*Circa ccclxxxviii.* S. Albeus ex Hibernia Romam petiisse ibique apud episcopum quendam Hilarium dictum sacras literas didicisse dicitur.—*Ibid. p. 513.*

*Circa cccxcvii.* S. Albeus a magistro suo S. Hilario episcopo ad Romanum pontificem missus fuisse dicitur, ut ab eo episcopus ordinaretur; mansisseque apud eum uno anno et quinquaginta diebus, una cum quinquaginta viris sanctis qui de Hibernia cum sunt secuti: in quibus præter xii Colmanos, xii Coemgenos et xii Fintanos; etiam S. Declanus cum suis discipulis fuisse perhibetur.—*Ibid. p. 513.*

that papal Rome was the mother who begot them unto Christ.

“From the Annals of Innisfallen, we gather that cccci. kl Ciaran and Declan came from Rome bishops, to announce the faith in Ireland.”

“ccccxii., Ailbe of Emly, came from Rome a bishop, to announce the faith in Ireland.”

“ccccxx., Ibar Invarensis came from Rome, a bishop, to Ireland.”<sup>1</sup>

Though each of these holy men is still held in high veneration by every Irishman, there is another still more hallowed in their recollections, whom they have chosen as their country's Patron Saint. Let us now fix our eyes upon him ; let us inquire how it came about that

ST. PATRICK *was sent to Ireland by POPE*  
CELESTINE.

§ 22. In the dispensations of Providence, it was allotted for Patrick to bring to a happy end the holy work begun by Palladius. But how did the future apostle of Ireland set about his hallowed

<sup>1</sup> cccci. K l. Ciaranus et Declanus venere a Roma Episcopi ad annunciandam fidem in Hibernia, &c.—O'CONNOR, *Rer. Hibern. Script. t. ii. in Annal. Inisfal. p. 12.*

ccccxii. Albeus Imlecensis venit a Roma Episcopus ad annunciandam fidem in Hibernia.—*Ibid. p. 13.*

ccccxx. Ibarus Invarensis venit a Roma episcopus Hiberniam.—*Ibid.*

task : did he go forth, self-sent, from Britain, the land of his birth, to preach the Catholic belief among the Irish ? No, for if there be any strength in an unbroken chain of national traditions, St. Patrick, not content with such a teacher as his own uncle, St. Martin of Tours ; and with studying with such a schoolfellow as Sulpicius Severus ; not satisfied with being able to receive ordination at the hands of St. Germanus of Auxerre, who had acted “in the stead of the Pope,”<sup>1</sup> by the papal authority of St. Celestine, in rescuing the British Church from the heresy of Pelagius ; this same St. Patrick must hasten to Rome itself, and hear from the lips of her bishop, his warrant to go and preach to the Irish. After, therefore, having spent several years in Italy, and in some of the most celebrated monasteries of Gaul, St. Patrick, armed with the approbation and apostolic authority of the Pope, landed once more on the shores of Ireland.

§ 23. This we gather from many sources, but especially from Probus, an Irishman, who wrote the life of St. Patrick somewhere during the ninth century.

“St. Patrick,” says this biographer, “poured forth to the Lord a prayer after this kind :—“ O Lord, Jesus Christ, lead me, I beseech thee, to the seat of the holy Roman Church, that receiving

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<sup>1</sup> See § 13.

authority there for preaching with confidence thy word, the Irish people may become Christians through me. No great while after his having come to Ireland, Patrick, the man of God, went as he had wished, to THE HEAD OF ALL CHURCHES, TO ROME, and there having asked and gotten the Apostolic blessing, he returned the same road by which he had gone thither."

§ 24. Without stopping, now, to give all its due weight to such an unequivocal declaration from an Irishman of the ninth century, that "ROME IS THE HEAD OF ALL CHURCHES," we will hear Heiric the monk of Auxerre, who lived much about the same time with Probus. From his intimate acquaintance with the most learned, as well as holy men from Britain, but, especially, from Ire-

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<sup>1</sup> Sanctus Patricius fundit ad Dominum hujusmodi preces, Domine Jesu Christe—perduc me, obsecro, ad sedem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, ut accepta inde autoritate prædicandi cum fiducia verbum tuum, fiant Christiani per me populi Hyberniorum. Nec multo post progressus ad Hyberniam vir Domini PATRICIUS VENIT AD CAPUT, ut postularat, OMNIUM ECCLESiarUM ROMAM; ibique benedictione apostolica petita, et accepta, reversus est itinere, quo venerat illuc.—PROBUS *de Vita S. Patricii inter opera Bedæ*, p. 315, t. iii. *Basil.* 1573.

Probus Hibernus.—USSERIUS, *Brit. Ecc. Antiq.* p. 423. Scribit sæculo ix. Probus.—O'CONNOR, *Rer. Hib. Script.* t. i. p. lxxxii. *Proleg. Prim. in notis.*

land, who were drawn to France by the kindness and the gifts of Charles the Bald, Heiric must have had a thorough knowledge of Irish church-history and Irish tradition. Making the scholar's glory redound to his teacher's honour, Heiric says:—"Patrick, as the course of his achievements sets forth, being the especial Apostle of Ireland, passing eighteen years under the most holy tutorship of St. Germanus, drank in no small learning concerning the heavenly Scriptures from the spring of such a fountain; and whom the most holy bishop saw magnanimous in religion, excelling in virtues, strenuous in doctrine; and thinking it unfit that a very strong husbandman should be listless in the culture of the harvest of the Lord, he sent him to holy Celestine, the Pope of the city of Rome, with his priest Segetius, who might bear testimony of ecclesiastical probity in behalf of this most illustrious man, at the apostolic see. By the judgment of which, being approved, and leaning on its authority, and strengthened by its blessing, he sought Ireland, and being given to that people as their chosen apostle, he illustrated Ireland, then, with doctrine and miracles, and he does so now, and will do so for ever, with the wonderful privileges of his apostleship."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Patricius, ut gestorum ejus series prodit, Hibernicæ peculiaris apostolus regionis, sanctissimo ei (Germano)

§ 25. Living at the same time, and closely acquainted with Heiric the monk of Auxerre, was Mark the anachorite. A Briton by birth, this holy man was brought up in Ireland, and on coming home, the Britons chose him for one of their bishops; and after feeding the flock entrusted to him, with much watchfulness, for many years, the venerable old man forsook Britain and went over into France, where he led an anachoretical life.<sup>1</sup>

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discipulatui octodecim addictus annis, non mediocrem e tanti vena fontis in Scripturis cælestibus hausit eruditionem; quemque in religione magnanimem, in virtutibus excellentem, in doctrina strenuum, divinissimus consideravit pontifex (S. Germanus); ineptumque ducens robustissimum agricolam in Dominicæ segetis torpere cultura, ad sanctum Cælestinum urbis Romæ papam per Segetium presbyterum suum, eum direxit; qui viro præstantissimo probitatis ecclesiasticæ testimonium apud sedem ferret Apostolicam. Cujus judicio approbatus, auctoritate fultus, benedictione denique roboratus, Hiberniæ partes expetiit, gentique illi proprie datus apostolus, tum quidem eam doctrina et miraculis, nunc quoque et in perpetuum mirificis apostolatus sui illustrat privilegiis.—*Miracula S. Germani epis. Antissiodorensis, auctore HERICO monacho, lib. i. c. 2, § 21, p. 258, Act. SS. Bolland. mense Julii, t. vii.* Hericus florebat A.D. 876.—*Ibid. p. 192.*

<sup>1</sup> Fertur unum (beneficium) famosum inter cetera cujus ad nos notitia per sanctum senem Marcum ejusdem gentis (Britanniæ) episcopum decucurrit: qui natione quidem Brito educatus vero in Hibernia post longa pontificalis

In his “History of the Britons,” which Mark has bequeathed to posterity, he tells us that,—“By the will of God, St. Patrick was taught the Holy Scriptures, and afterwards went to Rome and stayed there a long while reading; and the Holy Ghost filling him, he read the holy mysteries, and holy writ. For, while he was there in the study of reading, by Celestine the Roman Pope was sent Palladius the first bishop, to convert the Irish to Christ,—and Palladius coming back from Ireland to Britain, died there in the land of the Picts. When the death of Palladius the bishop was heard of, Patrick, having the angel of God to go along with him, and Victor as a monitor and helper, was sent by Celestine the Roman Pope, and by Germanus the bishop, to convert the Irish to the faith of the Holy Trinity.”<sup>1</sup>—From having spent many

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sanctitatis exercitia, ultroneam sibi peregrinationem indixit. Sic traductus in Franciam, piissimique regis Caroli munificentia illectus, apud beatorum Medardi et Sebastiani cœnobium anachoreticam exercet vitam, singularis nostro tempore unicæ philosophus sanctitatis.—HERICUS *Monachus*, in *Mirac. S. Germani Antiss. apud Boll. Act. SS. Julii*, t. vii. p. 272.

<sup>1</sup> Sanctus Patricius—nutu Dei eruditus est in sacris scripturis et postea Romam petiit et longo tempore illuc mansit legendo, et sacra misteria sanctamque Scripturam legit Spiritu Sancto replente. Nam cum esset ibi in studio lectionis, missus est Palladius episcopus primus a Celestino



of his early years in Ireland, this wise and holy British countryman of ours must have seen a great deal of Irish churchmen, and heard from their lips the history and traditions of the Irish church; his words, therefore, upon anything belonging to Ireland must be particularly weighty.

§ 26. Like to the testimony of Mark is that of another Briton, Nennius, who says that,—“By the will of God was it that St. Patrick should afterwards be taught holy writ, and he came as far as Rome, and stayed there for a long while to read and to search into the mysteries of God; and he went through the books of the holy Scriptures. When he had been there seven years, Palladius, the first bishop, was sent by Celestine the bishop and Pope of Rome, to convert the Irish to Christ. On the death of Palladius the bishop being heard of, another legate, Patrick, is sent by Celestine the Roman Pope, at the warning of an angel of God, whose name was Victor, and the persuasions of St. Germanus the bishop, to convert the Irish to the

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papa Romano ad Scottos episcopo convertendos—et Palladius rediens de Hibernia ad Britanniam, ibi defunctus est in terra Pictorum. Conscia autem morte Palladii episcopi—a Celestino papa Romano, et angelo Dei comitante, momente atque adiuante Victore, et a Germano episcopo ad Scottos ad fidem sanctæ Trinitatis convertendos Patricius missus est.—*Historia Britonum edita ab Anachoreta MARCO, &c. published by the Rev. W. Gun, pp. 80, 81.*

faith of Christ, during the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 27. A nameless, though ancient, writer of St. Kiaran’s life, takes due notice of this fact, as he observes that,—“the glorious archbishop Patrick, sent by Pope Celestine, came over to Ireland, and, by God’s grace, converted the leaders, chiefs, and people to Christ; and all Ireland was filled with the faith, and baptism of Christ.”<sup>2</sup>

§ 28. Marianus Scotus, an Irish scholar, who flourished about the year 1059, chronicles the same

<sup>1</sup> Nutu Dei eruditus est (Sanctus Patricius) postea in sacris litteris, et ad Romam usque pervenit, et per longum spatium mansit ibidem ad legendum et ad scrutanda mysteria Dei, et sacrarum Scripturarum libros percucurrit. Nam cum ibi esset per annos septem, missus est Palladius episcopus primitus a Celestino episcopo et papa Romæ ad Scottos in Christum convertendos. Audita morte Palladii episcopi, alius legatus Patricius, Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus a Celestino papa Romano, et angelo Dei, cui nomen erat Victor, monente, et suadente sancto Germano episcopo, ad Scottos in fidem Christi convertendos mittitur.—NENNII *Historia Britonum*, edente Jos. Stevenson. *Londini*, 1838, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Deinde gloriosus archiepiscopus Patricius missus a Celestino Papa venit in Hiberniam, qui Dei gratia reges, duces, principes populosque ad Christum convertit. Et tota Hibernia repleta est fide et baptismo Christi.—*Ex vita S. Kiarani*, apud USSERIUM *Brit. Eccl. Antiquitates*, p. 409. *Londini*, 1687.

event in these following words:—"In the year of Christ 432—to the Irish believing in Christ, Palladius, ordained by Pope Celestine, was sent the first bishop. After him, St. Patrick, who was by birth a Briton, and consecrated by Pope Celestine, is sent to the Irish archiepiscopacy. There, preaching with signs and wonders, he converted the whole island of Ireland to the faith."<sup>1</sup>

§ 29. Next to Marianus Scotus, comes another eminent chronicler, Sigebert the monk of Gemblours, who wrote somewhat about the year 1101. "Pope Celestine," says Sigebert, "sent to the Irish believing in Christ, Palladius the first bishop. After whom, to the same, by the same, was sent Patrick, a Briton by birth,<sup>2</sup> the son of Concha sister of St. Martin of Tours, whose baptismal name was Suchat, which was changed by St. Germanus into Magonicus, and, again, into that of Patrick by Celestine,

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<sup>1</sup> Anno Christi 432, Theodosii VIII. Bassus et Antiochus, ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius, primus episcopus missus est. Post ipsum S. Patricius. Fuit genere Brito, a S. Celestino Papa consecratus, et ad archiepiscopatum Hibernensem mittitur. Ibi per annos quadraginta signis atque mirabilibus prædicans, totam insulam Hiberniam convertit ad fidem.—*MARIANUS SCOTUS, Chron. ad annum, editione Basile, 1559. Florebat circa A.D. 1059.*

<sup>2</sup> In Appendix I. it is proved that our island of Great Britain was blessed with the birth of this illustrious saint.

by whom he was ordained the archbishop of the Irish ; and excelling in signs, holiness, and doctrine, during sixty years, he converted the whole island of Ireland to Christ.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 30. Our own countryman, William of Malmesbury, besides writing the life, often speaks of St. Patrick, who, he tells us, was a scholar of St. Germanus of Auxerre, under whom he studied many years, after which, “ being ordained by Pope Celestine as bishop to the Irish,”<sup>2</sup> the good prelate sent

<sup>1</sup> Cælestinus Papa ad Scotos in Christum credentes Palladium mittit primum episcopum. Post quem ad eosdem ab eodem Cælestino missus est S. Patricius, genere Brito, filius Conches, sororis S. Martini Turonensis, qui, in baptismo quidem, dictus est *Suchat*, a S. Germano *Magonius*, a Cælestino vero *Patricius*, a quo archiepiscopus Scotorum ordinatus, per LX annos signis, sanctitate, doctrina excellens, totam insulam Hiberniam convertit ad Christum.—SIGEBERTI, *Chronicon apud Vossium*, de *Script. Lat. Lugd. Bat.* 1627, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Sanctus Germanus Antisiodorensis—in patriam medietatis reditum, Patricium ad familiare contubernium ascevit, eundemque, post aliquot annos, Hybernensibus, jubente Celestino Papa, prædicatorem misit.—WILLIELMUS MALMESBURIENSIS *de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, apud Gale, Script. Anglic. t. iii. p. 296.*

Jacet ibi Patricius si credere dignum, natione Britto, beati Germani Antisiodorensis discipulus, quem a Papa Celestino ordinatum episcopum Hibernensibus misit apostolum.—WILLIELMUS MALMESBURIENSIS *de Gestis Pont.*

him, by order of the Roman pontiff, to begin the work of his apostleship.

§ 31. But the native and very ancient records of Ireland are equally clear upon this point. The Annals of Innisfallen declare that,—“Patrick came from Rome, bishop into Ireland, and devoutly preached the faith there.”<sup>1</sup> In the same plain language do the “Annals of the Four Masters,” as they are called, announce the same thing.—“St. Patrick was ordained to the episcopacy by the holy Pope Celestine the First, who ordained for him to come to Ireland and preach, and give the precepts of faith and religion to the Gadelii” (or Irish).<sup>2</sup> Nay, it is asserted, on very ancient Irish authority, as well as by Sigebert, that it was from a Pope, St. Celestine, that the glorious apostle of Ireland got his very name of Patrick;<sup>3</sup> so that

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*Angl. lib. ii. p. 145; Rer. Angl. Scriptores, ed. Saville, et in Vita S. Patricii apud LELANDUM. Collect. t. ii. p. 274. Florebat circa A.D. 1143.*

<sup>1</sup> Patricius venit a Roma episcopus in Hiberniam, et fidem devote prædicavit ibi.—*Annal. Inisfal. apud O'CONNOR, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, t. ii. p. 95.*

<sup>2</sup> Ordinatus est S. Patricius in episcopatum a Sancto Papa primo Celestino, qui ordinavit ei venire Hiberniam prædicare, et præcepta fidei et religionis dare Gadeliiis (i. e. Hibernis).—*Annales iv. Magist. apud O'CONNOR, Rer. Hibern. Script. t. iii. p. 98.*

<sup>3</sup> A Celestino quoque Papa PATRICII illum nomen accepisse, Fiechi Slebhthiensis scholiastes, et Sigebertus confir-

his doctrine, his mission, and his name, are all from Rome. Not satisfied with "being learned in Roman discipline," as Ricemarch,<sup>1</sup> a Cambro-Briton of the eleventh century (A.D. 1080) tells us; not content with uniting with himself, as fellow-labourers in his spiritual harvest, bishops from Gaul and Britain, St. Patrick set over many of the Irish sees men who were by birth, as well as by belief, Romans.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, St. Patrick's mission by Rome is so strongly borne out by all antiquity, that learned Irishmen, though Protestants,<sup>3</sup> and often

mant: quibus etiam Hibernicus Vitæ Patricianæ descriptor, Florentius Wigorniensis, &c. accedunt.—USSERIUS, *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 438.

<sup>1</sup> Patricius Romanis eruditus disciplinis, &c. RICE-MARCHUS, A.D. 1080, apud USSERIUM, *Brit. Ecc. Antiq.* p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> Primus ordo Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii, et tunc erant episcopi omnes clari et sancti et Spiritu S. pleni ccccl. numero, &c. Hi omnes episcopi de Romanis, et Francis et Britonibus erant.—*Ibid.* p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Patricius a Papa Celestino in Hiberniam transmissus, &c.—*Anonymus antiquus* apud USSERIUM, p. 440.

*Circa ccccl. B. Patricius, Italiam ingressus, annis xxx ante adventum suum in Hiberniam, S. Declanum et S. Kiaranum a Romano Pontifice episcopos ordinatos, et ad evangelium Hibernensibus prædicandum missos obvios ibidem habuit: fraternisque salutationibus invecim peractis, ipse Romam petiit (ubi diutius sacris literis discendis operam dedisse perhibetur) illi cum comitibus suis*

betraying bitter feelings against the doctrines of the Catholic Church, for very shame's sake, durst not shut their eyes to it, nor deny it. It is therefore an historical fact that the

CHURCH OF IRELAND WAS FOUNDED BY A POPE.

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§ 32. But what was the soul breathed into the Irish Church—that body spiritual quickened into being by Patrick, helped by strength from heaven? what was the belief, what the holy practices taught by this scholar of a papal legate, this missionary from Rome, to the early Irish, made God's children by his preaching? You shall hear from the lips of the Irish themselves: you shall be shown the belief: you shall behold what were the sacred rites, what the religious usages learned from their Roman teachers by the first Irish Christians, in those precious monuments of their earliest Church, which time has left us.

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in Hiberniam perrexerunt.—USSERIUS, *Brit. Eccl. Antiq. Tab. Chron.* p. 517.

*Circa ccccxxxii.* Audita morte Palladii, Patricius a Germano Antissiodorensi episcopo Romam, unà cum Segetio presbytero ad Celestinum P. missus; ab Amatore vel Amatheo quodam, ut volunt nonnulli, ab ipso verò Celestino, ut alii, episcopus consecratus est: Auxilio presbyteri, et Ysernino diaconi ordine, eodem tempore, colato.—*Ibid.* p. 516.

§ 33. In looking over these venerable documents, one of the first things which draw our attention is the crowd of proofs to show that,—

## II.

THE IRISH CHURCH HAS ALWAYS, NOT ONLY ACKNOWLEDGED, BUT ALSO YIELDED OBEDIENCE TO THE PAPAL SUPREMACY; AND, FROM ITS VERY BEGINNING, BEEN CLOSELY UNITED WITH ROME, THROUGH ALL AGES, UP TO THE PRESENT TIME.

§ 34. The ground-work of belief laid down among the Irish by St. Patrick, was the headship and spiritual supremacy of the Roman see; and it was upon no other than this stone, brought from the rock of Peter, that he himself built, and taught those who were to come after him, to build the house of God in Ireland. Hence we find in the canons, framed in one of those synods called together and presided over, in Ireland, by St. Patrick, it is enacted that:—"if *any* questions arise in this island (Ireland) they are to be referred to the Apostolic See."<sup>1</sup> Hence, too, is it that the same blessed man in his "Letter to Coroticus," hails the Romans with the epithet of "holy."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Si quæ questiones in hac insula oriantur, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur.—*Canones S. PATRICII, apud Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit. t. i. p. 6.*

<sup>2</sup> Non dico civibus meis atque civibus sanctorum Roma-



But let us listen to those echoes which the voice of St. Patrick awakened in Ireland when it became Christian—echoes which have never died away since from the lips of her children, whose faith is now as warm in the middle of the nineteenth century, as it was in the beginning of the seventh,<sup>1</sup> and is worthy of the same praises. So quick was the spiritual growth of Christian Ireland, that she soon ran through her childhood, and waxed so strong in grace, that she begot, for the Church Catholic, some of her holiest and most illustrious sons. Of these, one amongst the foremost in sanctity, as well as learning, is the great

St. COLUMBANUS,

who shares with St. Benedict the merit of establishing monachism in western Christendom; and will ever be remembered, through the correspondence which he kept up with two Roman pontiffs. The testimony of St. Columbanus is of peculiar interest and value, for he may be said to have been one of the earliest children begotten by Chris-

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norum.—*Epist. S. PATRICII ad Coroticum, apud Bolland. in Actis SS. Martii, t. ii. p. 538.*

<sup>1</sup> Columbanus, ortus est ex Hibernia insula in extremo oceani. Hanc Scottorum gens incolit, gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fide præpollet.—*Vita S. COLUMBANI Auct. Jona fere æquali, apud Mabillon. Act. SS. O. B. t. ii. p. 5.*

tian Ireland,<sup>1</sup> and therefore his belief and language may fairly be taken as a sample of the speech and belief common to his brethren in the household of faith at that period in Ireland. Moreover, we know, from the best authority, that he it was who became so powerfully instrumental in quickening Ireland's faith, that had been comparatively barren, into the most abundant fruitfulness. Of these Popes, the first to whom St. Columbanus wrote, was St. Gregory the Great, whom he thus addresses :—

“To the holy Lord and Roman father in Christ; to the most beautiful comeliness of the Church; to, as it were, a certain most august flower of the whole of drooping Europe; to the chosen watchman possessed of the divine theory of the treasurer-ship, I, the Barjona, the lowly Columba (or dove) send health in Christ.

“It pleaseth me, O holy Pope, that it is not hyperbolical with thee to be interrogated about Easter, according to that canticle,—*‘ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.’*

“It is in accordance, neither with place, nor with order, that anything should be set before thy

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<sup>1</sup> Natus est ergo hic Columbanus inter primordia fidei gentis illius, ut fides quam infecundam ex parte gens illa habebat, suo et sodalium suorum munimine cultu uberi fecundaretur.—*Vita S. COLUMBANI auct. Jona circa A.D. 615, apud Mabillon Act. SS. O. B. t. ii. p. 5.*

great authority by way of discussion, or that my letters from the West, concerning Easter, should importune thee lawfully sitting, as thou dost, in the chair, for instance, of Peter the Apostle and key-bearer.”<sup>1</sup>

The Irish saint then begs the Roman pontiff to decide for him, the way in which he ought to act in certain cases which he submits to his authoritative judgment.

“But I ask, what dost thou deem concerning

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<sup>1</sup> Epistola I. ad Gregorium Papam:—

Domino sancto, et in Christo Patri Romano, pulcherrimo Ecclesiæ Decori, totius Europæ flaccientis augustissimo quasi cuidam flori, egregio speculatori, theoria utpote divina castulitatis potito.

Ego bargoma vilis Columba in Christo mitto salutem.

. . . . Libet me, o sancte Papa, hyperbolicum tecum non sit interrogandum de Pascha juxta illud Canticum, “*Interroga patrem tuum, et annuntiabit tibi; majores tuos, et dicent tibi, &c.*” Nec loci namque, nec ordinis est, ut magnæ tuæ auctoritati aliquid quasi discutiendo inrogetur, et ridiculose te mei (nimirum Petri cathredam Apostoli et Clavicularii legitime insidentem) occidentales apices de Pascha sollicitent, &c.—S. COLUMBANI *Epist. I. ad Gregorium Papam, inter Opera S. Columbani, apud GALLANDII Bib. Vet. Pat. t. xii. p. 345.*

It should, no doubt, be Barjona, from what the Saint says in his letter to Pope Boniface, wherein he thus refers to his name,—Mihi *Jonæ* Hebraice, *Peristeræ* Græce, *Columbæ* Latine, &c.—*Ibid. p. 355.*

those bishops who are ordained against the canons; that is, through money.—Is communion to be held with them? If it be not irksome, answer still further, I beseech thee, my third question.—What should be done with those monks, who, through a view towards God, and warmed with a wish of the perfection of life, going against their vows, leave the place where they made their first religious profession?<sup>1</sup>

“More lowly-wise, and in a manner more befitting, all these and many more such questions, which the shortness of a letter does not allow of, would I

<sup>1</sup> Ceterum de episcopis illis quid judicas interrogo qui contra canones ordinantur, id est, quæstu:—numquid cum illis communicandum est?

Tertio interrogationis loco responde adhuc quæso, si non molestum est, quid faciendum est de monachis illis, qui pro Dei intuitu, et vitæ perfectionis desiderio accensi contra vota venientes, primæ conversionis loca relinquunt.—*Ibid.* p. 346.

From one who lived very near the times of this great man, we learn that he wrote some work which he addressed to St. Gregory the Great, but which is unfortunately lost. Says the ancient author,—Extant ejusdem Patris Columbanii scripta ad beatissimum virum Gregorium Pontificem Romanum quæ de pervigili pastorum cura elicuit, qui eo tempore adeo clarus habebatur atque sanctitate præditus erat.—Sed et isdem venerabilis vir ad præfatum patrem melliflua remisit scripta.—*Vita S. SALABERGÆ ABB. ab auctore fere coævo* (A.D. 655) *apud Mabillon Act. SS. O. B. tom. ii. pp. 405, 406.*

have put in person, had it not been that my weak health, and a concern for my fellow-pilgrims, kept me fast at home, however wishful of going to thee that I might drink of that spiritual vein of the live fountain, and of the live water of science, flowing down from heaven, and springing up unto life eternal. And if the body would follow the mind, Rome would again have to put up with a slight upon herself; just as we read in the narrative of the learned Jerom, how that certain men, a good while ago, went to Rome from the furthest bounds of the Heuline shore, and, wonderful to say, searched for something else besides Rome: just so with me at present; I should eagerly seek thee, not minding Rome, saving the reverence of the saints' ashes," &c.

"From my heart do I wish to yield thee due honour. Mine it was to call upon, to put questions to, to beseech thee: thine, not to withhold what had been freely bestowed, but to put out thy talent to interest; to give, at Christ's behest, the bread of doctrine to him who sought it from thee. Peace be to thee and thine. Forgive, I beseech, O blessed Pope, my boldness in having written so presumptuously; and I beg that thou wilt, once at least, in thy holy prayers to our common Lord, pray for me a most vile sinner."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Humilius, et purius hæc omnia, et multo plura quæ

It was not material Rome with its wonderous buildings, and its remains of what was beautiful in art; it was not the queen of cities proud of her great men, and her gone-by mightiness; but it was spiritual Rome, holding the chair of Peter, with Gregory the Apostle's successor seated in it, with its Christian altars, and the martyrs' shrines, that St. Columbanus wished to see.

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epistolaris brevis non admittit, per præsentiam interroganda erant, nisi corporis infirmitas et meorum cura comperegrinorum domi me vinctum ad te [the text seems to be imperfect here] eundi, ut illam spiritualem vivi fontis venam vivamque undam scientiæ cælitus fluentis, ac in æternam vitam salientis haurire. Et si animum corpus sequeretur Roma sui iterum rem sustineret contentus, et quomodo, docto narrante Hieronymo, legimus quosdam de ultimis Heulini litoris finibus olim venisse Romam, in, et mirum dictu, aliud extra Romam quæsisse, ita et ego nunc te, non Romam desiderans, salva sanctorum reverentia cinerum expeterem, &c.

Honor debitus cordi est a me tibi dari: meum fuit provocare, interrogare, rogare; tuum, si gratiis accepta non negare, talentum fenerari, petenti te panem doctrinæ, Christo præcipiente dare. Pax tibi, tuisque; meæ indulge quod sic audacter scripsi, rogo, procacitati beate Papa, et oro ut pro me vilissimo peccatore vel semel in tuis sanctis orationibus ad communem Dominum ores.—S. COLUMBANI *Epist.* i. ad Gregorium Papam, *apud* GALLANDIUM, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, t. xii. p. 346, &c. *et inter Opera* S. GREGORII, t. ii. p. 1036, *ed. Benedict. Parisiis*, 1705.

§ 36. The second Roman pontiff to whom St. Columbanus addressed himself, was Boniface IV, that same Pope who, as Beda tells us, got leave from the emperor Focas to turn the gentile Pantheon into a Christian church; and consecrated, in honour of the Mother of God, and in memory of all the martyrs, this temple which paganism had dedicated to the memory of all its foolish idols.<sup>1</sup>

In writing to Boniface, St. Columbanus directs—

“To the holy Lord, and in Christ the Apostolic Father, the Pope, Columba, a sinner, wisheth health in Christ.

“Longing, as I have been for a great while, to visit in spirit, and console with all those who have had the charge of the Apostolic chair, prelates most dear to all the faithful, and through the excellency of the Apostolic honour, most revered fathers; up to this moment, like as I were cooped up in a ship, I have never been able to fulfil my wishes, through the coldness of the present age,

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<sup>1</sup> Hic est Bonifacius quartus a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis episcopo, qui impetravit a Focate principe donari ecclesiæ Christi templum Romæ, quod Pantheon vocabatur ab antiquis, quasi simulacrum esset omnium deorum; in quo ipse eliminata omni spurcitia, fecit ecclesiam sanctæ Dei Genetricis atque omnium martyrum Christi; ut, exclusa multitudine dæmonum, multitudo ibi sanctorum memoriam haberet.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. iv. p. 108.*

and the seditions of the tumultuous nations intervening.<sup>1</sup>

“With the due performance of salutations, we pour out our prayers only to thee, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and through the unity of faith which is common to us, that thou wouldst bestow upon us labouring pilgrims the solace of thy holy sentence, with which thou mayst strengthen the tradition of our elders, if it is not against faith; with which we may be enabled, through thy adjudication, to keep the rite of Easter as we got it from our forefathers.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ad Bonifacium IV.* Domino sancto et in Christo apostolico Patri Papæ, Columba peccator in Christo salutem. Jam diu omnes sedi Apostolicæ præsidentes, dulcissimos omnibus præsules fidelibus, ac merito Apostolici honoris reverendissimos patres visitare spiritu et consolare cupiens, nunc usque votis pro diversis hujus ævi frigoribus, et tumultuosis gentium seditionibus interjacentium ac si marina trabe interclusus satisfacere non potui, &c.—S. COLUMBANI *Epist. &c. apud* Gall. t. xii. p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Cum salutationum condignis officiis preces tantum ad te (Bonifacium Papam) per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et Spiritum sanctum, et per unitatem fidei nostræ quæ invicem est; fundimus ut nobis peregrinis laborantibus tuæ piæ sententiæ præstes solatium quo, si non contra fidem est nostrorum traditionem robores seniorum, quo ritum Paschæ sicut accepimus a majoribus, observare per tuum possimus judicium in nostra peregrinatione.—*Ibid.* p. 349.



§ 37. We here behold St. Columbanus doing, in the sixth century, just as every Catholic prelate does now, whenever he sees before him an ecclesiastical question beset with doubts and difficulties;— he sent for instructions to the head of the Church—to the Pope; and by asking for the decisions, and calling for the judgment of the Roman pontiffs, he openly acknowledged their supremacy, and right to decide in spiritual matters, even in the far West whence his letters to St. Gregory were written. Moreover, it would be hard to find, in any modern correspondence with Rome, language more full of fondness, respect, and devotedness to the Apostolic see; or better worded to signify the writer's unhalting belief in the headship of the Roman pontiff, and willingness to yield obedience to its decisions.

§ 38. Upon this point of the supremacy of the bishops of Rome, St. Columbanus has spoken out in words even still stronger, which cannot be mistaken, in another letter written by him to the same Pope, Boniface IV, which he thus begins:—

“To the most beautiful head of all the churches of the whole of Europe; to the very sweet Pope; to the very high prelate; to the pastor of pastors—the lowliest to the highest, the last to the first—to Boniface the father dareth to write Palumbus<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Epis. ad Bonifacium Papam IV.*:—

Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ, ecclesiarum capiti,

[for so Columbanus, in allusion to his name, liked to call himself<sup>1</sup>].

“As your friend, your scholar, your servant, not as a stranger, will I speak; therefore, as to our masters, to the steersmen, to the mystic pilots of the ship spiritual, freely will I speak, saying: watch, for the sea is stormy,—watch, for the water has already gotten into the ship of the Church, and the ship is in danger. We are the scholars of SS. Peter and Paul, and of all disciples subscribing, by the Holy Ghost, the divine canon; we are all Irish, inhabitants of the furthestmost part of the world, receiving nothing beyond the evangelic and apostolic doctrine. None of us has been a heretic, none a Jew, none a schismatic; but the faith, just as it was at first delivered by you the successors, to wit, of the holy apostles, is held unshaken. Strengthened by this confidence, I have dared, as if goaded, to arouse you against men who blaspheme those who are thine, and clamour against them as the receivers of heretics, and call them schismatics; that my glorying, with which I boldly spoke while answering for you, might not be empty; and that they may be confounded, not we. For, in a manner

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Papæ prædulci, præcelso Præsuli, pastorum Pastori, . . . humillimus celsissimo, maximo . . . extremus primo . . . scribere audet Bonifacio Patri Palumbus.—*Ibid.* p. 351.

<sup>1</sup> As we have before seen at § 35, in the notes.

<sup>2</sup> Ego enim ut amicus, ut discipulus, ut pedisequus

befitting scholars to think towards their master, I promised in your behalf, that the Roman Church

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vester, non ut alienus loquar; ideo libere loquar nostris utpote magistris ac spiritualis navis gubernatoribus ac mysticis prœdictis dicens: Vigilate, quia mare procellosum est. . . . Vigilate qui aqua jam intravit in ecclesiæ navem, et navis periclitatur. Nos enim SS. Petri et Pauli et omnium discipulorum divinum canonem Spiritu sancto scribentium discipuli sumus, toti Heberi, ultimi habitatores mundi, nihil extra evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam recipientes: nullus hæreticus, nullus Judæus, nullus schismaticus fuit; sed fides, sicut a vobis primum sanctorum scilicet Apostolorum successoribus, tradita est, inconcussa tenetur. Qua fiducia roboratus ausus sum, ac si stimulatus suscitare vos contra eos qui blasphemant tuos, et hæreticorum receptores clamant ac schismaticos vocant; ut gloriatio mea qua pro vobis fidus illi respondens locutus sum, non sit inanis, et illi confundantur, non nos. Ego enim pro vobis promisi, quod nullum hæreticum Ecclesia Romana defendat contra Catholicam fidem, sicut discipulos ita decet sentire de magistro. Idcirco libenti animo, et piis auribus necessariæ insinuationem præsumtionis meæ suscipite: quidquid enim dixero aut utile, aut orthodoxum, vobis reputabitur; laus enim magistri in discipulorum suorum doctrina est; ideo si sapienter locutus fuerit filius, lætificabitur pater, et vestra laus erit, quia a vobis, ut dixi, processit; non enim rivo puritas, sed fonti reputanda est. Si vero aliqua tamquam zeli modum excedentis, verba, aut in hac aut in altera contra Agripp . . . . qui me movit ad scribendum epistola inveneritis incondita, meæ indiscretionis, non elationis deputetis.—*Ibid.* p. 352.

would defend no heretic against the Catholic faith. Therefore take with a willing mind, and pious ears, the insinuation of my needful presumption, for whatever I shall say, either useful or orthodox, will be reputed unto you, since the master's praise is in his scholars' doctrine. Wherefore if the son shall have spoken wisely, the father must be gladdened, and the praise will be yours, because, as I have said, has it come from you; for purity is to be reputed not to the stream, but to the fountain head. If either in this, or the other letter against Agrip[pa] who stirred me up to write, you shall find any words bearing the likeness of overabounding zeal, you must put it down, not to any loftiness of mine, but to my indiscreetness.

“Watch, therefore, for the peace of the Church; help thy sheep already affrighted at the dread, as it were, of wolves. Wherefore use, O Pope, the whistlings and the well known voice of the true shepherd, and stand betwixt thy sheep and the wolves, so that casting away their fear, thy sheep may in everything know thee the first pastor.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Vigilate itaque pro Ecclesiæ pace, subvenite ovibus vestris, jam tamquam luporum terroribus pavidis; . . . Quamobrem utere veri, o Papa, pastoris sibilis notaque voce, et sta inter illas et lupos, ut deposito pavore, tunc primum te ex integro cognoscant pastorem . . . Ut ergo honore apostolico non careas, conserva fidem apostolicam,*

“That thou mayst not, therefore, lack apostolic honour, defend the apostolic faith, confirm it by thy witness, strengthen it by thy writing, fence it in by a synod, that no one may, by law, withstand thee.

“Do not, because thou art his teacher, slight the poor advice of the stranger who is full of zeal for thee. It is not enough for thee who hast received the care of so many, to be solicitous for thyself; more is looked for from him to whom more is entrusted.

“Watch, therefore, I beseech thee, O Pope, watch.—Watch, in the first place, for the faith; then for the bidding of the works of faith to be done, and for the trampling upon vice, because thy watchfulness will become to many their safety, while, on the other hand, thy carelessness will be the laying waste of many. May God send thee forth, like another Isaias; according to thy name’s meaning, may he place thee in a lofty tower, fit for truly looking out; upon which, set, in a manner, higher than all mortals, and becoming thus raised near unto the celestial beings, ‘*lifting up*

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confirma testimonio, robora scripto, muni synodo; ut nullus tibi jure resistat. Noli despicere consiliolum alienigenæ tamquam doctor illius zelantis pro te. Non sufficit tibi quod pro te ipso sollicitus sis, qui multorum curam suscepisti: cui enim plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur.—*Ibid.* p. 352.

*thy voice like a trumpet, thou mayst shew their wicked doings'* to the people of thy Lord entrusted to thee by Him, and *the house of Jacob their sins.'* (*Isaias c. lviii. v. 1.*)<sup>1</sup>

"As a fearful man, at the same time that I am no strong warrior, because I see a host of enemies has encompassed us about, I strive even by importunate outcries to stir up thee as the prince of the leaders; for unto thee belongeth the peril of the whole of the Lord's army,—lying now benumbed in the field rather than fighting, and, what is more to be bewailed, partly yielding help to, instead of withstanding the enemy."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vigila itaque quæso Papa, vigila.—Vigila primo pro fide deinde pro operibus fidei jubendis, vitiisque calandis, quia tua vigilantia multorum erit salus, sicut e contrario tua securitas multorum erit vastatio. Mittat te Isaiam Deus, juxta tui nominis interpretationem, in speculam veræ contemplationis ponat; in qua quasi cunctis mortalibus altior positus vicinusque cælestium effectus *exaltans quasi tuba vocem tuam annunties populo Domini tui tibi ab eo commisso, peccata eorum, et domui Jacob iniquitates eorum.*—*Ibid.* p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Ego quasi timidus, dum non sim fortis bellator, quia hostem adversariorum circumdedisse nos video, te licet importunis clamoribus, tamquam ducum principem suscitare conor; ad te namque totius exercitus Domini, in campo potius torpentis, quam pugnantis; et partim (quod lacrymabilius est) adversariis potius manus dantis, quam resistentis, periculum pertinet. Te totum expectat, qui

“Every thing is waiting for thee, who hast the power of setting all things in order—of beginning the war—of arousing the leaders—of commanding arms to be taken up—of drawing forth the ranks into battle array—of giving the word for the sounding of the trumpets—of, at length, commencing the fight, by putting thyself at the head of the onset. Coming, as I do, from the very end of the world, where I have looked upon the spiritual leaders waging the battles of the Lord, grieving and fearing do I moan unto thee alone, who, from among the princes, art the only hope, powerful

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potestatem habens omnia ordinandi, bellum instituendi, duces excitandi, arma corripere jubendi, aciem construendi, tubas undique sonandi, certamen demum, te in fronte gradiente, ineundi. Ego enim de extremo mundo veniens, ubi bella Domini præliari spirituales duces conspexi . . . dolens ac timens, ad teque tantum qui unica spes de principibus es, per honorem potens Petri Apostoli sancti, respiciens plango tanti exercitus stragem. Dolendum quoque est, quod non vos priores pro zelo fidei, ut decebat, diu parte a vobis recedente, (utpote qui potestatem legitimam habuistis) continuo, ostensa prius vestræ fidei puritate condemnastis, nec excommunicastis, quare vel infamare auderet *fidei orthodoxæ sedem principalem*.—*Ibid.* p. 353.

Ego instigo vos, meos patres ac proprios patronos ad depellendam confusionem de facie filiorum vestrorum ac discipulorum, qui pro vobis confunduntur; et quod his majus est, ut caligo suspicionis tollatur de Cathedra S. Petri.

through the honour of Peter the apostle, as I behold the slaughter of such an army.

“Much also is it to be bewailed, that, as a party has, long since, left you who had the lawful power, you did not, at first, through a becoming zeal for the faith, having, first of all, made known your own soundness of belief, immediately condemn and excommunicate any one who should dare to slander the principal seat of the orthodox faith.

“My fathers and my immediate patrons, I beg and beseech you to take off this confusion from the face of your sons and scholars, who are abashed for you; and what is yet more wished for by them, see that the mist of suspicion be drawn aside from

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Hæreticorum enim receptio, ut audio, vobis reputatur, quod absit, credi verum fuisse, esse, vel fore. Dicunt enim Eutychen, Nestorium, Dioscorum, antiquos, ut scimus hæreticos a Vigilio in synodo, nescio quam, in quinta receptos fuisse. Ecce causam totius, ut ajunt, scandali.—*Ibid.* p. 353.

Nos enim, ut ante dixi, devincti sumus Cathedræ S. Petri: licet enim Roma magna est et vulgata; per istam cathedram tantum apud nos est magna et clara. Quamquam enim Ausonii decoris ac si augustissimum quoddam ac ætheris procul sejunctum climatibus promiscuis urbis quondam conditæ nomen, nimio favore omnium prope gentium, totis per orbem, usque in occidua transmundialis limitis loca, triundalibus faltuatim licet hyperbolice pelagi vorticibus undique consurgentibus (mirum dictu!) non prohibentibus longe lateque vulgatum est; ex eo tamen tempore, quo Deus et Dei filius esse dignatus est, ac in



the chair of St. Peter. You are thought, as I hear, to give a reception to heretics, a thing which I am loath to believe is, has been, or ever will be true. For they say that Eutyches, Nestorius, and Dioscorus, all, as we are sure, old heretics, were received by Vigilius in I know not what fifth council. Behold the source, as they say, of all the scandal.

“We are, as I said before, bound to the chair of St. Peter. For although Rome is great and thoroughly well known, it is only through this chair that she is great and bright among us. Though the name of that city, founded so long ago, and the pride of Italy, as if it were something most

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duobus illis ferventissimis Dei Spiritus equis, Petro scilicet et Paulo Apostolis (quorum cara pignora vos felices fecerunt) per mare gentium equitans, turbavit aquas multas, et innumerabilium populorum millibus multiplicavit quadrigas; supremus ipse auriga currus illius, qui est Christus, Pater verus, agitator Israel, trans Euriporum rheuma, trans Delphinum dorsa, trans turgescientem dodrantem, ad nos usque pervenit. Ex tunc vos magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa nobilior et clarior est; et si dici potest, propter Christi geminos Apostolos (dico ipsos cælos a Spiritu Sancto dictos, Dei gloriam enarrantes de quibus infertur: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba illorum*) vos prope cælestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum salva loci dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa. Et ideo sicut magnus honor vester est pro dignitate cathedræ, ita magna cura vobis necessaria est, ut non perdatis vestram dignitatem propter aliquam perversitatem.—*Ibid.* p. 354.

august and widely differing from whatever else is under heaven, was, by the overweening partiality of almost every nation, noised abroad far and wide throughout the world, even unto those places in the West touching the transmundial border, athwart the triple-waved whirlpools of the ocean, although hyperbolically upheaving themselves altogether and on every side, still, wonderful to say, unable to afford any hinderance; yet, from that time when God vouchsafed to become the Son of God, and on those two most fiery steeds of the Spirit of God, Peter, to wit, and Paul the apostles (whose dear pledges<sup>1</sup> have rendered you happy) riding through the sea of the Gentiles, he troubled many waters,

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<sup>1</sup> At Bobbio there is a tradition that St. Gregory the Great sent a present of saints' relics to St. Columbanus.—MABILLON, *Iter Italicum*, t. i. p. 215. An engraving of the curious ivory casket, or rather box, in which they were enclosed to the Irish saint by the Roman pontiff, is given by BOTAZZI, in his learned work, "*Emblemi o simboli del Sarcofago di Tortona.*" MABILLON, in his description of the large stone chest within which the body of St. Columbanus lies in the crypt of the church at Bobbio, takes notice of the front sculptured with the saint kneeling at the foot of a pontiff, from whom he is receiving a small box exactly like the ivory relic-case. If this stone coffin be about the period of the saint's death, we have another illustration of his reverence, fresh in the mind of his monks, toward St. Gregory as bishop of Rome.

and multiplied chariots to thousands of countless people ; the supreme driver of that chariot, who is Christ, the true Father, the charioteer of Israel, over the tide of the straits of the sea, over the mountain-tops, over the rough waste, came even unto us. From that day forwards are you great and renowned ; and Rome herself is become more noble and more renowned ; and if it can be said on account of Christ's two apostles (I call those heavens, said by the Holy Ghost to show forth the glory of God, of whom it is inferred, ' Their sound hath gone forth unto all the earth : and their words unto the ends of the world '), you are almost heavenly, and Rome is the head of the Churches of all the world, saving the singular prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection."

§ 39. One is quite dazzled—astounded—dumb-struck by this, as we may truly call it, storm of eloquence, bursting forth from the mouth of this Irish saint ; in which his whole soul flashes out like lightning, and his burning words fall on our ears with the mightiness of thunder-peals. As if it had been given him by Heaven to look with the seer's eye through the dimness of far-off ages, and behold the times when men should arise and have the hardihood to say that he, and with him the early Irish Church, did not acknowledge the Papal supremacy, and held no communion with Rome, St. Columbanus seems to speak on purpose to re-

fute these ungrounded calumnies; and to put his testimony on record, in such a way, that those who came after him might be able to tell the orthodoxy of ancient Ireland. Of the fathers of the Church, whether of the west or east, none of them all declares the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff in stronger or more unequivocal language, than the Irish St. Columbanus.

§ 40. Calumniators will sometimes whisper that it was when blinded by the glitter of the Roman purple, or resting under the shade of a cardinal's hat, that some great writers have exalted the prerogatives of the Papal see. Such an unfounded insinuation most unjustly accuses those celebrated controvertists, who were as holy and truth-loving, as they were learned, of suffering their minds to be warped by feelings of gratitude for honours already bestowed, as well as by the view opening before their eyes, of yet higher distinctions to be reached. Now, let the quickest-eyed antagonist to the Papal supremacy over ancient Ireland, pryingly search out every epithet with which any modern writer, however devoted to the Roman see, has clothed his sentiments of homage for the divinely-derived authority, and rights of the supreme Pontiff for maintaining the true doctrine, and upholding the discipline of the Church over all the Christian world; and, at the end of his labours, he will find that the language uttered to

assert and win our acknowledgment of the Papal power by such a theologian, is but feebleness itself when put beside the words, so eloquently, so warmly poured forth for the same purpose, by the ancient Irish abbot, who never got, nor sought to get, honours, or wealth, or distinctions from any one.

§ 41. Speaking on behalf of himself and his countrymen, St. Columbanus cries out aloud, and declares that the Irish believe: 1°. that the Popes are “their lords and fathers in Christ,”—“chosen watchmen,”—“prelates most dear to all the faithful,”—“the most beautiful heads of all the churches of the whole of Europe,”—“pastors of pastors,”—“the highest,”—“the first,”—“the first pastors, set higher than all mortals,”—“raised near unto the celestial beings”—“princes of the leaders”—“their fathers, their immediate patrons”—“the steersmen, the pilots of the ship spiritual: 2°. That it is for the Popes “to give, at Christ’s behest, the bread of doctrine to those who seek it from them,”—“nothing is to be set before their great authority by way of discussion,”—“with them is the spiritual vein of the live fountain, and of the live water springing up unto life eternal,”—“their holy sentence strengthens the tradition of our elders,”—“they have the power of excommunicating:” 3°. that the Irish are “bound to the chair of Peter,”—that “it is only through this chair that Rome is great and bright amongst the Irish:” 4°. that the

Irish are “the servants, the scholars, the sons of the Popes : 5°. that Rome “is the principal seat of the orthodox faith,” that the Popes are “almost heavenly,” and “Rome is the head of the churches of all the world.”

§ 42. St. Columbanus never heeded this world’s frowns, nor this world’s favours ; and the loud pitch to which he sometimes raised his voice, as he spoke, by letter, to Pope Boniface, shows him to have been one who would never have stooped to glozing : and, therefore, his testimony is of double weight ; and tells us that his love for Rome must have been heart-born, like a son’s for his mother, and his declaration of the spiritual supremacy of the Popes, an article of his and of every Irishman’s belief.

§ 43. From listening to this great saint, whilst he put forth this important truth in such glowing language, but, at the same time, in words so strong as to make it impossible to misunderstand his meaning, we will go in search of the next link in the tradition of Ireland upon this point of the papal headship.

§ 44. The belief which St. Columbanus, in his childhood, had learned from his elders, and had often exemplified by his personal conduct, he, in his turn, taught the crowds who flocked around him in Ireland, Gaul, and Italy. To these may be aptly applied, what the saint says of himself in

reference to the Popes,—“the master’s praise is in the scholar’s doctrine.” Among those who led a religious life under the fatherly eye of St. Columbanus, in the monastery which he built at Bobbio, was Jonas, who wrote his holy master’s life. At the beginning of his book, Jonas lets us know, that for whatever learning he had, he was beholden to Ireland;<sup>1</sup> and then observes that, “though the Irish were a people living without the laws of the rest of the world, nevertheless, flourishing in all the strength of the Christian belief, they far excelled all the neighbouring nations by their faith”.<sup>2</sup> What were the deep feelings of respect with which Jonas had been taught by his Irish instructor to look upon the papal supremacy, may be seen from the way in which that writer notices the schismatical behaviour of the contumacious monk Agrestius. “On account,” says Jonas, “of the disagreement of the Three Chapters, the citizens of Aquileia dissent from the communion of the Apostolic see,

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<sup>1</sup> Illi (docti) ditis balsami lacrymam Engaddi, floresque aromatum ex Arabia, nobis ex Hibernia vix butyrum pinguescit. Jonas says this of himself.—*Vita S. COLUMBANI auctore Jona Monacho Bobiensi fere æquali. Apud Mabillon. Acta SS. O. B. t. ii. p. 4.*

<sup>2</sup> Hanc (Hiberniæ insulam) Scottorum gens incolit, gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fide præpollet.—*Ibid. p. 5.*

of which, in the Gospel, the Lord speaks to the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Going, therefore, to Aquileia, Agrestius becomes a partner in the schism; and, sundered from the communion of the Roman see, is broken off from the communion of the whole world, which joined as it was to the Roman see, condemned the island of Aquileia for not holding the orthodox faith."<sup>1</sup>

Glowing with the same warm feelings of a son's love towards his Roman mother,<sup>2</sup> and holding a like belief in her spiritual headship over all the churches, with authority to hear and settle every matter of dispute in faith or practice, is

#### ST. CUMMIAN,

the justly celebrated Irish monk, who adorned his

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<sup>1</sup> Aquilejenses etenim dissentiunt a communione Sedis Apostolicæ (de qua Dominus in evangelio ad B. Apostolorum principem Petrum loquitur: *Tu es Petrus*, et super hanc petram ædificabo *ecclesiam meam*, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam) ob trium capitulorum dissensionem, &c. Itaque veniens Aquilejam, socius statim schismatis effectus (Agrestius), a Romanæ Sedis communione sejunctus, ac divisus a totius orbis communione: qui cum Romanæ Sedi jungeretur, damnabat insulam Aquilejam orthodoxam fidem non tenere.—JONAS in *Vita* S. Eustasii *apud* Mabillon, *Act. SS. O. B. t. ii. pp.* 110, 111.

<sup>2</sup> See § 16, at the end.



country with his holiness and learning some few years after the death of St. Columbanus.

§ 45. Towards the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, Christ's Catholic Church in Ireland had its calm somewhat ruffled by the debates which arose about the fit time for keeping Easter day.

§ 46. To hush anything like wrangling, and to bring his countrymen to the right rule for solemnizing the Paschal festival, Cummian wrote to Segienus, the abbot of St. Columba's, in the island of Hy, a long letter; the whole drift of which is to show, that while it is absolutely necessary to be knit into the unity of the Church, the centre of that unity is the chair of Peter; that a father of the Church, from having been a Pope, and therefore received by them, is more especially to be heeded; that Rome is not only the head of all cities, but ought to be fondly looked up to, by the Irish, as their Christian mother.

§ 47. Among other things, Cummian observes,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dominis sanctis et in Christo venerandis, Segieno abbati Columbæ sancti et cæterorum sanctorum successorum, Beocanoque solitario (charo carne et spiritu fratri) cum suis sapientibus; Cummianus supplex peccator, &c.

*Antiqua inquit (Hieronimus) in me insurgit auctoritas. Ego interim clamito; si quis cathedræ sancti Petri jungatur, meus est ille. . . .*

Quid plura? Ad Gregorii Papæ urbis Romæ episcopi

“ ‘An old authority,’ says Jerom, ‘rises up against me. In the meanwhile I shout out, whosoever is joined to the chair of St. Peter, that man is mine.’ What more? I turn me to the words of the bishop of the city of Rome, Pope Gregory, received by us in common, and gifted with the appellation of the golden mouth, who, though he wrote after all, is, nevertheless, deservedly preferred before all; and I find him thus writing on this passage in Job,— ‘Gold hath a place wherein it is melted,’ &c. The gold is the great body of the saints; the place of melting, the unity of the Church; the fire, the

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(a nobis in commune suscepti, et oris aurei appellatione donati) verba me converti; qui etsi post omnes scripsit, tamen est merito omnibus præferendus: et inveni illum hunc locum apud Job tractantem; *Auro locus est in quo conflatur*, &c. Aurum est sanctorum massa; locus conflationis, unitas ecclesiæ; ignis, ignis tribulatio martyrii. Qui ergo extra unitatem ecclesiæ uritur, conflari potest, purgari non potest, &c. . . .

Quid autem pravius sentiri potest de ecclesia matre, quam si dicamus? Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scoti et Britanni rectum sapiunt. . . . Anno igitur (ut prædixi) emenso, juxta Deuteronomio *Interrogavi patres meos ut annuntiarent mihi, majores meos ut dicerent mihi* (successores videlicet nostrorum patrum piorum Ailbei Episcopi, Querani Coloniensis, Brendini, Nessani, Lugidi) quid sentirent de excommunicatione nostra, a supradictis sedibus Apostolicis facta. At illi congregati in unum,

tribulation of the fire of martyrdom. He, therefore, who is tried by fire out of the unity of the Church, may be melted, but cannot be cleansed.

. . . . .  
 “What can be deemed worse of mother church than that we should say, Rome goes astray; Jerusalem goes astray; Alexandria goes astray; Antioch goes astray; all the world goes astray; only the Irish and the Britons know what is right?

“When a year, as I said before, had flown by, I

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alius per se, alius per legatum suum vice sua missum, in campo Lene sanxerunt, et dixerunt; Decessores nostri mandaverunt per idoneos testes; alios viventes, alios in pace dormientes, ut meliora et potiora probata a fonte baptismi nostri et sapientiæ et successoribus Apostolorum Domini delata sine scrupulo humiliter sumeremus. Post in commune, et super hoc orationem (ut moris est) nobis celebraverunt ut Pascha cum universali ecclesia in futuro anno celebrarent. Sed non post multum surrexit quidam paries dealbatus, traditionem seniorum servare se simulans; qui utraque non fecit unum, sed divisit, et irritum ex parte fecit quod promissum est: . . . Deinde visum est senioribus nostris, juxta mandatum ut *si diversitas oborta fuerit inter causam et causam, et variaverit judicium inter lepram et non lepram, irent ad locum quem elegit Dominus*; ut si causæ fuerint maiores, juxta decretum synodicum, AD CAPUT URBIIUM sint referendæ; misimus quos novimus sapientes et humiles esse, VELUT NATOS AD MATREM, et prosperum iter in voluntate Dei habentes, et AD ROMAM URBEM aliqui ex eis venientes, tertio anno ad nos usque pervenerunt, et sic omnia viderunt sicut audierunt: sed et valde certiora, ut-

asked my fathers to declare to me, my elders to tell me, the successors, to wit, of our holy fathers, Ailbe the bishop, Kieran of Clonmacnois, Brendan, Nessen, Lugid, what they thought of our excommunication laid on by the above-said sees Apostolic? But having all met together in the field of Leighlin, some in person, some by their legates sent in their stead, they decreed and said:—‘Our predecessors, through meet witnesses of whom some are still alive, others, sleeping in peace, bade that we should humbly and without scruple receive whatever things were better and more to be esteemed, when they were well liked of by the source of our baptism and wisdom; and brought from the successors of the Lord’s apostles.’ Afterwards they, in common, set forth to us, as the custom is, a

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pote visa quam audita invenerunt: et in uno hospitio cum Græco et Hebræo, Scythia et Egyptiaco, in ecclesia sancti Petri simul in Pascha (in quo mense integro disjuncti sumus) fuerunt: et *ante sancta* sic testati sunt nobis dicentes; per totum orbem terrarum hoc Pascha, ut scimus, celebratur. Et nos in reliquiis sanctorum martyrum et scripturis quas attulerunt, probavimus inesse virtutem Dei. Vidimus oculis nostris puellam cœcam omnino ad has reliquias oculos aperientem et paralyticum ambulantiem et multa dæmonia eiecta.—CUMMIANI HIBERNI *ad Segienum Huensem Abbatem de Controversia Paschali Epistola*, apud USSERIUM, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, passim. By *Hebræus* Cummián understood an inhabitant of Palestine.

mandate upon this matter, to keep Easter the coming year along with the whole Church. But after a while, there arose up a certain white-washed wall, feigning to hold fast by the traditions of the elders; who did neither one thing nor the other, but made a division, and rendered partly null what had been promised.

“After this, in accordance with the commandment,—‘If a difference shall arise between cause and cause, and judgment shall vary between leprosy and leprosy, they should go up to the place which the Lord hath chosen,’—the elders took heed that if the causes should be of great moment, they must be, in virtue of the synodical decree, referred to the head of cities: we sent such as we knew were wise and humble men, as sons to their mother; and by God’s will, having a prosperous journey, some of them reaching Rome, came home to us the third year, and by this manner, they saw all just as they had heard; and found things much more sure from having seen them, than if they had only heard of them: and in the same lodgings with the Greek, the Hebrew, the Scythian, and Egyptian, were they altogether in St. Peter’s church at Easter (in which we disagree by a whole month), and before the holies did they testify unto us, saying, ‘throughout the whole earth, this Easter, as we know, is kept.’ And in the relics and the writings which they brought, did we prove the strength

of God to be. With our own eyes did we behold a young girl who was quite blind open her eyes, a paralytic walk, and many wicked spirits cast out, at these relics."

§ 48. There is another production of Cummian, not to be overlooked in this question, his "Measure of Penance." In this work, he not only alleges the authority of a Pope—Innocent I—as a warrant for his opinion, but he carries his respect for the see of Rome so far, as to rank any condemnation of Roman customs, amongst those heinous offences which subject their wilful perpetrators to be cast out of the Church and looked upon as heretics, unless they wash away their fault by heart-felt sorrow.<sup>1</sup>

§ 49. In going over these extracts from the writings of Cummian, we catch a near insight into the way things were done at home by the early Irish Christians; and whither it was they looked, when they cast their eyes abroad, and sought advice beyond the shores of their own island; and where they deemed their spiritual mother to dwell.

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<sup>1</sup> Si quis permiserit hæretico Missam celebrare in ecclesia Catholica, et nescit, 40 diebus pœniteat.—Si per damnationem, humiliationem ecclesiæ Catholicæ et consuetudinis Romanorum, projiciatur ab ecclesia sicut hæreticus, nisi habeat pœnitentiam.—CUMEANI *Abbatibus Lib. de mensura Pœnitentiarum*, Bib. Pat. t. xii. c. xi. p. 47. Lugduni, 1677.

We find, then: 1°. when a doubt arose in the mind of any individual, he addressed himself to his ecclesiastical superiors for its solution: 2°. in their uncertainties, the latter met in a provincial synod; and comparing the tradition handed down to them, decided the matter by that Catholic standard: 3°. but if a question of any magnitude was mooted, keeping in sight the universal ecclesiastical rule, they referred it to the head of the Church—to the Pope, and went to Rome for judgment, “as children going up to their mother:” 4°. that it was not every tradition which was good with the Irish; but such only as were well liked and approved of by the source of their baptism and their wisdom, that is, Rome; and had been brought to Ireland from the Popes, the successors of the Lord’s apostles SS. Peter and Paul: 5°. that to blame even the customs of Rome, was a deed amounting to heresy, and worthy of excommunication.

§ 50. The name of Cummanian<sup>1</sup> naturally leads us to think of the debates which broke in upon the holy stillness of the Irish Church, while the ques-

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<sup>1</sup> Why is it that the Irish Church has never bestirred herself in trying to get a portion, at least, of the relics of such illustrious native Saints as St. Columbanus and St. Cummanianus, both of whom still lie enshrined in the crypts of the church at Bobbio? The Pope’s leave, through the proper authorities, would easily translate these holy sons of Ireland to the land of their birth.

tion about the proper day for Easter, was argued.<sup>1</sup> Happily, we are put in possession of most of the circumstances belonging to this case, by our own St. Beda. Through this question, another and a brighter stream of light is thrown upon the catholicism of Ireland in early times; and, by its help, we are enabled to see, at this distance of ages, the Irish Church, then in her youth, paying, daughter-like, a respectful obedience and bowing in submissive homage to her Roman mother, when

*The Popes claimed and exercised, without being gainsaid, their spiritual supremacy over the early Church in Ireland.*

§ 51. Thus far, the testimonies which we have brought forward out of the writings of the early fathers of the Church in Ireland, loudly speak the love and respect of the Irish for the Pope; and the nation's belief in his spiritual headship or supremacy, as well over Ireland, as over every other country and people within the pale of Christendom. We have now got hold of an historical fact, which brings before our eyes a practical illustration of this Irish belief,—on the side of Rome, a claim, by the Popes, of exercising their supremacy over the early Church in Ireland; on the side of Ireland, the recognition, by the Irish, of such a papal right, shown by their obedience to the papal authority.

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<sup>1</sup> For some notice of the Easter Question, see Appendix II.



§ 52. Beda tells us that, "The same Pope Honorius [A.D. 621-634] sent letters also to the Irish people, who, he found, were wrong in the keeping of holy Easter, earnestly exhorting them, few as they were in numbers, and fixed at the furthestmost ends of the earth, not to think themselves wiser than Christ's ancient and modern churches, which were spread over the globe; nor, in opposition to the paschal calculations, and the decrees of the bishops met in council from all parts of the world, to keep a different Easter."<sup>1</sup>

§ 53. Was an outcry raised among the Irish, when they heard this letter from the Pope? None. Did any bishop, priest, abbot, monk, or layman, step forward and protest against the claim thus put forth by the Popes to interfere with them in matters belonging to belief and discipline? did any one pretend that Ireland lay beyond the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, or whisper that this

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<sup>1</sup> Misit idem Papa Honorius (A.D. 634) literas etiam genti Scottorum quos in observatione sancti paschæ errare compererat, juxta quod supra docuimus, sollerter exhortans, ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiores antiquis sive modernis, quæ per orbem erant, Christi ecclesiis æstimarent; neve contra paschales computos et decreta synodalia totius orbis pontificum aliud pascha celebrarent.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. c. xix. p. 148, ed. Stevenson. Lond. 1838.

supreme bishop had overstretched his due authority? No, not one. Quite the reverse: for we find that the papal mandate was not only received and obeyed, without either wonder, as if it had been unusual, or murmur at undue exercise of power; but messengers were sent by the prelates of the Irish Church, craving to hear from the Pope's own lips, instructions for their guidance through certain grave questions, which they submitted to him in writing, upon both doctrine and discipline.

§ 54. Shortly after sending the above fatherly exhortation to the Irish Church, Pope Honorius died, and the delegates from the Irish prelates laid their letters before that Pontiff's immediate successor, Severinus (A.D. 640-640), who sat upon St. Peter's chair for a few months only. At his decease, John IV was chosen (A.D. 640-642), who, as soon as he was elected, but before the day of his coronation, bearing in mind the letter forwarded from Ireland to Severinus, sent the Irish prelates an answer, part of which only has been preserved by Beda, who thus introduces it to his readers:—  
 “But John, who succeeded Severinus, the successor of the same Honorius, when he was as yet elected to the popedom, for the correction of the same error, sent them [the Irish] a letter full of great authority and learning, clearly showing that Easter Sunday must be sought for from the fifteenth to the twenty-first moon, as was proved in the

council of Nice. Moreover, he took care to admonish them, in the same letter, to beware of, and drive away the Pelagian heresy, which, he had learned, was reviving among them: which letter begins thus :<sup>1</sup>—

“ ‘To the most beloved and most holy Tomianus, Columbanus, Cromanus, Dinna, and Baithanus, bishops; to Cromanus, and Ernianus, Laistranus, Scellanus, and Segenus, priests; to Saranus, and the rest of the Irish doctors or abbots, Hilarius the archpriest and keeping the place of the holy Apostolic see, John the deacon and in the name of God the elected, John the primicerius or head of the minor clergy and keeping the place of the holy Apostolic see, and John a servant of God and counsellor of the same Apostolic see.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sed et Johannes qui successori ejusdem Honorii Severino successit, cum adhuc esset electus in pontificatum, pro eodem errore corrigendo literas eis (*Scottis*) magna auctoritate atque eruditione plenas direxit; evidenter adstruens, quia dominicum paschæ diem a quinta decima luna usque ad vicesimam primam, quod in Nicæna synodo probatum est, oportet inquiri. Necnon et pro Pelagiana hæresi quam apud eos reviviscere didicerat, cavenda ac repellenda in eadem illos epistola admonere curavit, cujus litteræ principium hoc est.—BEDA, *ibid.* lib. ii. c. xix. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Dilectissimis et sanctissimis Tomiano, Columbano, Cromano, Dinnao, et Baithano, episcopis; Cromano, Erni-

“ ‘The writings brought by the bearers to Pope Severinus of holy memory, and the corresponding

anoque, Laistrano, Seclano et Segeno presbyteris; Sarano, ceterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scottis, Hilarius archipresbyter, et servans locum sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, Johannes diaconus, et in Dei nomine electus; item Johannes primicerius et servans locum sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ, et Johannes servus Dei, consiliarius ejusdem Apostolicæ sedis.

“ Scripta quæ perlatores ad sanctæ memoriæ Severinum papam adduxerunt, et eo de hac luce migrante reciproca responsa ad ea quæ postulata fuerant, siluerunt. Quibus reseratis, ne diu tantæ quæstionis caligo indiscussa remaneret, reperimus quosdam provinciæ vestræ contra orthodoxam fidem, novam ex vetere hæresim renovare conantes, pascha nostrum, in quo immolatus est Christus nebulosa caligine refutantes, et quarta decima luna cum Hebræis celebrare nitentes.”

Quo epistolæ principio manifeste declaratur, et nuperime temporibus illis hanc apud eos hæresim coortam, et *non totam eorum gentem, sed quosdam in eis*, hac fuisse implicatos.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglor. lib. ii. c. xix. pp. 149, 150.*

“ Lasreanus Mac Kiarell, abbot of Lithglinn, took a leading part in the synod held A.D. 630, relative to the celebration of Easter. Primord. p. 485. He died A.D. 39. Annal. Tigern. Ad. An.

“ This Seclanus may perhaps be the same personage as the ‘ Sillanus episcopus Damhliniensis, whose death is mentioned in Annal. Tigern. as having happened A.D. 659.

“ Segenus became abbat of Iona in A.D. 623, and is

answers about the things that had been asked, were left, through his death, bound up in silence.

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mentioned in Adomnan's Life of S. Columba, i. 3, ii. 4; and he died in A.D. 652. Primord. p. 502. It was to this Segenus that Cumman sent his valuable letter, *de Controversia Paschali*, of which an extract is given in this work.

"Saranus, abbat of Othna Moire, is mentioned in the Annal. Tigern. A.D. 658."—These notices are taken from the notes of the industrious editor of Beda, Mr. Stevenson, p. 149.

"Tomenus Mac Ronan (Annal. iv. Magr. A.D. 660) was bishop of Armagh in A.D. 630, when the synod of Lithglinn, relative to the celebration of Easter, was held (Primord. p. 485, editionis Lond. A.D. 1687), and died in 661. Ann. Tigern. ad An.

"This Columbanus, a name very much used by the ancient Irish, most likely was bishop of Clunirard, who, according to the Ann. iv. Magr. died A.D. 652.

"The name of Cronano was also exceeding common; and the personage here spoken of, is thought to have been bishop of Aondroma, who died the 7th of January, 642. Annal. iv. Magr. ad An.

"Dima the Black, bishop of Connor, died, according to the Annals of Tigernach, in A.D. 659, and the same authority mentions the death of a bishop Dimnaus, whose see is not specified, A.D. 663.

"Baithenus, bishop of Techbaithan in Connaught (or Cluanmacnois) was the disciple of St. Columba, and is mentioned in Adomnan's Life of that Saint, i. 2, 37, 42; ii. 14; iii. 18.

"Of Cromano the priest, perhaps we have a record in

On opening them, to hinder a dimness from hanging a long while around so great a question, we found that certain persons of your province are trying to renew a fresh heresy out of an old one, refuting with a cloudy darkness our pasch, in which Christ was sacrificed, and striving to celebrate it on the fourteenth moon with the Jews.’”

§ 55. Out of this part of the Pope elect’s letter, Beda draws these two conclusions:—“at the beginning of this epistle, it is manifestly declared that, at that time, this heresy had but lately sprung up among them; and that not the whole of that people, but some only among them were involved in it.”

§ 56. No sooner was the decree from Pope Honorius made known in Ireland, than a quick and willing obedience was paid it, especially in the southern parts of the country. This we gather from the pointed notice which Beda, while recounting other events, takes of the immediate results flowing from that pontiff’s letter. For our venerable historian tells us that, “The Irish people who were dwelling in the southern parts of the

the ‘*Obitus Cronani monasterii Maghbilensis*,’ *Annal. Tigern. ad An. 650*.

“Ernanus was the disciple of St. Columba, and abbat of the monastery built by that saint, ‘*in insula Torachia*,’ *Annal. iv. Magr. ad An. 616*.”

island of Ireland, had, a long while, learned, at the admonition of the bishop of the Apostolic see, to celebrate Easter by the canonical rite.”<sup>1</sup> Whatever opposition the papal mandate met with in the north, in reality, arose and spread from one single spot, St. Columbkil’s, in the island of Iona. So deep was the reverence, so hallowed the feelings, with which that great monastery, built by St. Columba, was viewed by the religious houses under its rule throughout the north of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> that its abbots were honoured as parents, and allowed to exercise an unbounded sway over all their proceedings, and determine everything for them as their spiritual children. On the other hand, the abbots themselves of that house looked back with so much awe upon the life and holy doings of their saintly father, St. Columba, that his rules and his customs, with them, were laws not easily to be swerved from.

In the words at the end of Pope Honorius’s

<sup>1</sup> Porro gentes Scottorum quæ in australibus Hiberniæ insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum AD ADMONITIONEM APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS ANTISTITIS, pascha canonico ritu observare didicerunt.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglor. lib. iii. c. 3, § 155, p. 160*, ed. Stevenson, *Lond. 1838*.

<sup>2</sup> Cujus (insulæ quæ vocatur Hii) monasterium in cunctis pene septentrionalium Scottorum, et omnium Pictorum monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat, regendisque eorum populis præerat.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 161*.

letter, there are strong grounds for thinking that the time chosen by the monks of Columbkil for celebrating Easter, was misrepresented to the holy see. It would seem that they and their friends had been accused to the Pope, of keeping Easter *day* with the Jews, on any day of the week upon which the fourteenth moon might happen ; and not Easter *Sunday*, like the Christians, on the Sunday next following the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox. From its infancy, the Church sought to distinguish itself from the Jews with regard to the day of the week, both in the keeping of Easter, and in the hallowing of the Sabbath. As Christ arose from the dead on the first day of the week, she decreed that not the seventh, but the first day of the week, should be kept holy, and that the feast of Easter should always be solemnized upon a Sunday.

§ 57. Those who did not wait for the Sunday, but, like the Jews, observed the Easter festival on any day of the week, provided it were the fourteenth moon, were called Quartodecimans, and, as such, had been condemned by the Church. Now, Beda warns us, in more places than one, in his “History,” against believing that any of the Irish had fallen into the error of the Quartodecimans ; for he expressly says of St. Aidan,<sup>1</sup> an Irishman, and

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<sup>1</sup> Unde et hanc (celebrationem paschæ) non, ut quidam falso opinantur, quarta decima luna in qualibet feria cum



one of the bishops sent among the Northumbrians from the monastery of Iona:—"This [celebration of Easter] Aidan kept, not, as some falsely think, on the fourteenth moon, any day of the week, with the Jews, but upon the Lord's day between the fourteenth and the twentieth moon." Again, while referring to the practice of the monastery of Iona, whence Aidan came, Beda says:—"Not always on the fourteenth moon with the Jews, as some have imagined, but on the Lord's day; not, however, in the right week, did the monks of Iona celebrate Easter. As Christians, they knew that the Lord's resurrection—which happened on the first day of the week—was always to be celebrated on the first day of the week; but as barbarians and rustics, when that first day of the week, now called the Lord's day, should come, they had never learned."<sup>1</sup>

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Judæis, sed die dominica semper agebat (Aidan) a luna quarta decima usque ad vicesimam.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. xvii. p. 195.*

<sup>1</sup> Correcti sunt (Hiienses) per eum (Ecgberctum) et ad verum canonicumque paschæ diem translati: quem tamen et antea non semper in luna quarta decima cum Judæis, ut quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem Dominica, alia tamen quam decebat hebdomada, celebrabant. Sciebant enim ut Christiani, resurrectionem Dominicam quæ prima Sabbati facta est, prima Sabbati semper esse celebrandam; sed ut barbari et rustici, quando eadem prima Sabbati quæ nunc Dominica dies cognominatur, veniret, minime didicerant.--BEDA, *Hist. Ecclesias. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 164.*

To screen them still further, Beda remarks:—  
 “They followed dubious cycles in the time of keeping the great festival; for being situated far beyond the world, no one had furnished them with the synodal decrees for the paschal observance.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 58. That, at the time, this question was looked upon as one of mere discipline, is certain. The monks of Iona were never cut off from the Church by any formal excommunication: instead of being shunned, they were esteemed by every one who knew them. Beda says: “This dissonance of the paschal observance, during the lifetime of Aidan, was patiently tolerated by all; for they plainly saw that, although he could not keep Easter contrary to the manner of those who had sent him, yet, he took care to do all the works of faith, piety, and love, according to the manner common to all holy men; on which account, he was deservedly beloved by all, even by those who thought differently from him concerning Easter, and not only by inferior persons, but by those bishops themselves, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East-Angles, was he held in veneration.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In tempore quidem summæ festivitatis dubios circulos sequentes, utpote quibus longe ultra orbem positus nemo synodalia paschalis observantiæ decreta porrexerat.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 164.*

<sup>2</sup> Hæc autem dissonantia paschalis observantiæ, vivente Ædano, *patienter ab omnibus tolerebatur*, qui *patenter in-*

§ 59. But, happily, these slight jarrings of discord were, at last, hushed by the soothing voice of Ecgberct, the peace-maker, who brought the olive bough from Ireland. Born in England, Ecgberct had gone over to Ireland, and had spent many years there, in study and the exercises of a holy life; so that, notwithstanding the place of his birth, he may be safely heard as a witness to the belief and practice of the Irish. The monks of Iona listened to Ecgberct, and, through him to the voice and wishes of Ireland herself; and along with the monasteries connected with them, adopted the rule for the keeping of Easter followed by the rest of their countrymen.<sup>1</sup>

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tellexerant, qui etsi pascha contra morem eorum, qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit, *opera tamen fidei*, pietatis, et dilectionis *juxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum*, diligenter exequi curavit; unde ab omnibus etiam his, qui de pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur, nec solum a mediocribus, verum ab ipsis quoque episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum, et Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitus est.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. xxv. p. 220.*

<sup>1</sup> At tunc (A.D. 716) veniente ad eos (monachos Scottorum in insula quæ vocatur Hii.—*lib. iii. c. 3, § 157*) reverentissimo ac sanctissimo patre et sacerdote Ecgbercto, de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia diutius exsulaverat pro Christo eratque et doctissimus in scripturis et longe vitæ perfectione eximius, correcti sunt per eum et ad verum canonicumque paschæ diem translati.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4, p. 164.* Nec multo post illi quo-

§ 60. On looking back upon the course of this debated question, we see that the monks of Iona had never fallen into the error of the Quartodecimans; and, in respect to them and their imitators among the northern Irish, the point mooted about Easter, was not one of doctrine, but of discipline; and their difference in time from the rest of the Irish Church, arose from a faulty astronomical calculation. Such was the view of the question taken by their cotemporaries. The Roman monk Honorius, sitting in the primatial see of Canterbury, and wearing the archiepiscopal pall sent him by his namesake Pope Honorius,—and thus, in a manner, appointed the official upholder of the papal supremacy,—not only patiently tolerated Aidan in his way of keeping Easter, but loved that bishop, and held him in veneration. Had Aidan, by his deeds or his opinions, anywise denied the headship of the bishop of Rome, or abetted those who did; Honorius of Canterbury, bound as he was so strongly and by so many ties to the papal chair,

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que qui insulam Hii incolebant, monachi Scotticæ nationis, cum his, quæ sibi erant subdita, monasteriis, ad ritum paschæ ac tonsuræ canonicum, Domino procurante, perducti sunt. Siquidem anno ab incarnatione Domini septingentesimo sextodecimo—cum venisset ad eos de Hibernia Deo amabilis et cum omni honorificentia nominandus pater ac sacerdos Ecgberct, &c.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 22*, p. 409.

would have fostered other feelings towards the Irish prelate than love and veneration. Though it cannot be denied that some among the Irish monks were highly blameable for the wilfulness with which they clung to their own opinions about this custom ; yet, it no more follows that by holding them, they, even indirectly, gainsaid the papal supremacy, than that those Catholics who did not immediately adopt the new style introduced by Pope Gregory XIII, who amended the Roman calendar A.D. 1582, were guilty of the like fault, by not keeping Easter on the same day as it was kept at Rome.

§ 61. But attention must now be drawn to an historical fact, which is of two-fold value, as it tells in the strongest words, the practical belief of the early Irish in the papal supremacy ; while it displays their glowing love for God, which showed itself in kindness towards their fellow-man ; when many of them forsook their home and their kindred for ever, and went unto strange lands, that they might teach a holier way of life to the true believer, and Christianity to the pagan and idolator.

§ 62. To win souls for heaven, more by example than by precept—more by way of holy life, than word of mouth, the great St. Columbanus abandoned Ireland, and came to England ; whence he crossed over to Gaul, and afterwards went to Italy ; in both which countries he was so instrumental in establishing monachism. What were this holy

man's opinions and teaching on the papal supremacy, we have already seen ; and if we watch the steps of his countrymen who, like him, fled the land of their birth, to announce the gospel abroad, we shall find that

*The early missionaries from Ireland used to go to Rome to do homage to the Pope, and crave the apostolic leave and blessing, before they went and preached to pagan nations.*

§ 63. ST. DEICOLUS,

or, as the Irish call him,

ST. DICHUL,

was the scholar and companion of St. Columbanus. Having founded, in the sixth century, the monastery of Lure, in the diocese of Besançon, he hastened to Rome to visit the threshold of the Apostles, and lay at the feet of the chief bishop, all right over his monastery and its possessions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Romanam petiit (S. Deicolus) celsitudinem. Cumque a Romano Pontifice satis honorifice susceptus fuisset, postquam limina Apostolorum visitavit orationemque complevit subtili inquisitione Papa requirit quænam causa sit tanto patri tam grandem itineris laborem suscepisse. Cui vir Domini: Scottigena, inquit, frater sum et peregrinus pro Christo, &c. Quapropter, *præsul capitalis*, placet mihi locum ipsum et omnia quæ subiacent illi, Apostolorum Principi firma traditione delegare, &c.

Beatus vero Deicolus Apostolica donatione valde lætifi-

§ 64. Towards the year, 686,

ST. KILIAN

and his Irish companions, resolved to go and declare the Gospel to the pagans; and, for that intent, passed over from Ireland into Germany, and began their missionary toils in Franconia, where they all were honoured with the crown of martyrdom. From this saint's life, written at the beginning of the ninth century, we learn that,<sup>1</sup>—"There was a man of worshipful life, by name Killan, who came of high birth in Ireland, and was called by another appellation, Killian. Gathering together his companions and scholars, that is, Lonat, Gallo, and Arnwal, priests, and Totnan the deacon, he began to persuade them to scorn their worldly goods, and, according to the gospel, to forsake country and kindred, and, thus naked, to follow Christ."

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catus Romanis mœnibus dorsum dans cursu retrogrado Galliam celer repedit coelestibus oneratus muneribus, id est, pretiosis martyrum pignoribus et ornamentis ecclesiasticis, simul cum privilegio suo Apostolico obfirmato sigillo.—*Vita S. DEICOLI*, c. vi. p. 205, *Acta Sanct. apud Bolland. tom. ii. Januarii*. Auctore anonymo. Circa A.D. 965.

<sup>1</sup> Fuit vir vitæ venerabilis, nomine Killinus, quem Scotica tellus de magno edidit genere. . . . et alio vocabatur nomine Kilianus—congregatis in unum suis sociis atque discipulis id est Lonato, ac Gallone et Arnuale presbyteris, et Totnano diacono,—cœpit eis persuadere, propria

Yielding themselves up to his persuasions, these holy men went along with Killian, from Ireland to Germany; and when they got there, their sainted leader thus addressed them:—"Brethren, look at this beautiful spot, and see how cheerful are its people, although led astray by falsehood. If it seem good to you, let us do as we said, when we were at home in our own country; let us go to Rome, and visit the threshold of the prince of the Apostles, and present ourselves to the view of the blessed Pope John [*the fifth of that name, A.D.*

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contempnere, patriamque et parentes, secundum Domini evangelium, relinquere, et nudos sequi Christum.—Iniitque consilium cum suis, dicens: Fratres videtis locum elegantem hominesque jocundos licet errore deceptos; si vobis videtur, faciamus sicut condiximus *usque dum in nostra fuimus patria*: eamus Romam, et visitemus limina principis sanctorum apostolorum, et præsentemus nos obtutibus B. papæ Joannis, et si Domini voluntas sit, *ab apostolica sede accepta licentia* cum consultu illius, iterum revertamur et prædicemus illis fiducialiter nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Nec mora; factis compleverunt dicta, veniendo ad limina Sancti Petri principis Apostolorum. Sed illuc venientes et apostolicum virum Joannem non inveniētes quoniam jam defunctus est: a sancto papa Canone (Conone?) prædictus Dei pontifex Kilianus amabiliter et honorabiliter susceptus est. Cum autem B. papa Canon audivit unde venerat, et ad quid venerat, et ad quem locum exinde prompta voluntate iturus fuerat; audita illius fide, pariter et doctrina, dedit illi a Deo et



685-686]; and, if it be the will of the Lord, after we shall have gotten leave from the Apostolic see, we may come back here again, with its authority, and faithfully preach the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to these people.'

"Without delay, they fulfilled these words with their deeds, by starting off to the threshold of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles. On getting there, and not finding that apostolic man John, as he was already dead, the aforesaid bishop of God, Killian, was lovingly and honourably received by the holy Pope Conon [A.D. 686-687]. But when

sancto Petro principe Apostolorum, licentiam et potestatem prædicandi et docendi.—*Acta S. KILIANI apud Bolland. Act. SS. die 8 Julii, t. ii. p. 613, ineunte seculo ix. p. 607, ibid.*

The ornaments and vestments worn by these holy Irishmen were buried along with them, as we learn from their Acts, published by the Bollandists.

Sed et illorum capsæ, crux et Evangelium aliaque pontificalia vestimenta simul cum illis in sepulchro posita sunt.—*Acta S. KILIANI apud Bolland. Act. SS. die octava Julii, t. ii. p. 13.*

Rhabanus Maurus, a writer of the ninth century, mentions the martyrdom of St. Kilian and his companions, in these words:—*Natale Chilian martyris et duorum sociorum ejus, qui ab Hibernia Scottorum insula venientes, nomen Christi in prædictis locis prædicaverunt, &c.*—*RHABANUS in Martyrol. apud Canisium, t. ii. pt. 2, p. 333, Rhabanus florebat circa A.D. 845.*

the blessed Pope Conon heard whence he had come, and why he had come, and to what place he was about to go with such ready will; after having heard his faith, as likewise his teaching, he gave him, from God, and St. Peter prince of the Apostles, leave and power to teach and to preach." Any comment upon such a one of the many splendid proofs showing how Ireland always acknowledged the supremacy of the papal see, instead of enhancing, must weaken the value of the arguments to be drawn from it. We leave it, therefore, to do its own work.

§ 65. We now come to the name of one in whom, as far as mere place of birth is concerned, we may, as Englishmen, lawfully take a becoming pride; I mean the illustrious

#### ST. WILLIBRORD.

This glorious apostle of Friesland was born in that part of the north of England which had been converted to Christianity, chiefly by missionaries from Ireland;<sup>1</sup> and was brought up, from the years of

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<sup>1</sup> Idem ergo Oswald mox ubi regnum suscepit desiderans totam, cui præesse cœpit gentem fidei Christianæ gratia imbui—misit ad majores natu Scottorum inter quos exsulans ipse baptismatis sacramenta—consecutus erat: petens, ut sibi mitteretur antistes, cujus doctrina ac ministerio gens quam regebat, Anglorum, Dominicæ fidei et dona disceret, et susciperet sacramenta. Neque aliquanto tardius quod

lissing infancy, in the monastery of Rippon, founded and peopled by Irish monks ;<sup>1</sup> which he left at the age of twenty, to go over to Ireland, where he spent twelve more years in following sacred studies. St. Willibrord may therefore fairly be brought forward, in the present instance, as a witness of the practical belief and customs of the Church in Ireland, at the period in which he lived.

§ 66. Along with twelve companions, burning with the same zeal as himself, for the conversion of heathens, Willibrord left Ireland to go to Germany, and landed at the mouth of the Rhine. Then, as Beda<sup>2</sup> tells us,—“ Shortly after their coming into Friesland, as soon as Vilbrord found

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petiit, impetravit; accepit namque pontificem Ædanum summæ mansuetudinis et pietatis ac moderaminis verum. Venienti igitur ad se episcopo, rex locum sedis episcopalis in insula Lindisfarnensi ubi ipse petebat, tribuit.—Exin cœpere plures per dies de Scottorum regione venire Britanniam atque illis Anglorum provinciis quibus regnavit rex Oswald, magna devotione verbum fidei prædicare et credentibus gratiam baptismi quicumque sacerdotali erant gradu præditi, ministrare.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. iii. p. 159, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> In loco qui dicitur Inhrypum quem videlicet locum paulo ante eis qui Scottos sequebantur, in possessionem monasterii dederat (Alchfrid).—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. xxv. p. 221.*

<sup>2</sup> Primis sane temporibus adventus eorum in Fresiam, mox ut comperit Vilbrord datam sibi a principe licentia

out that leave to preach there had been given him by the prince, he hastened to go to Rome, the apostolic chair of which was then filled by Pope Sergius [A.D. 687-701], with whose leave and blessing, he might begin the wished-for work of announcing the gospel to the heathens; at the same time, hoping to get from him some relics of the blessed Apostles and martyrs of Christ; so that, when he should set up churches—after the destruction of the idols among the heathens to whom he might preach—he would have, ready at hand, saints' relics to put

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ibidem prædicandi, acceleravit venire Romam, cujus sedi apostolicæ tunc Sergius Papa præerat, ut cum ejus licentia et benedictione desideratum evangelizandi gentibus opus iniret; simul et reliquias beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum Christi ab eo se sperans accipere, ut dum in gente, cui prædicaret destructis idolis, ecclesias institueret, haberet in promptu reliquias sanctorum quas ibi introduceret; quibusque ibidem depositis, consequenter in eorum honorem, quorum essent illæ, singula quæque loca dedicaret. Sed et alia perplura, quæ tanti operis negotium quærebat, vel ibi discere, vel inde accipere, cupiebat. In quibus omnibus cum sui voti compos esset effectus, ad prædicandum rediit—Postquam vero per annos aliquot in Fresia qui advenerant docuerunt, misit Pippinus favente omnium consensu, virum venerabilem Vilbrordum Romam, cujus adhuc pontificatum Sergius habebat, postulans, ut eidem Fresonum genti archiepiscopus ordinaretur.—BEDA, *Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. v. c. xi. pp. 355, 356, 357.*

Aleuin's Life of St. Willibrord is particular in mention-

therein; and from such relics being deposited in those churches, he could, therefore, dedicate each single place to the honour of those saints whose relics were there. But besides this, he much wished to learn there [*at Rome*], or receive thence, many other things which the business of so great a work required. When, therefore, his wishes in all these things had been fulfilled, he went back to preach.

“ But after those who had come had spent some years preaching in Friesland, Pippin, with the fa-

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ing his Irish education.—Fuit in Britannia insula provincia Nordanhumbrana, quidam paterfamilias genere Saxo et nomine Wilgis, religiosam in Christo cum conjuge—agens vitam—mulier peperit filium imposuit ei mater nomen Willibrord; et statim ablactatum infantulum tradidit eum pater Ripensis ecclesiæ fratribus religiosis studiis et sacris literis erudiendum.—Usque ad vicesimum ætatis suæ annum, adolescente proficiente, arctioris vitæ ardore succensus est.—Et quia in Hibernia scholasticam eruditionem viguisse audivit, etiam quorundam sanctorum virorum, fama narrante, conversatione incitatus, et præcipue beatissimi patris et episcopi Egberti qui cognomento Sanctus vocabatur nec non et Wicberti venerabilis viri et sacerdotis Dei, quorum uterque ob cœlestis patriæ amorem, domo, patria, cognationeque relictæ, Hiberniam secessit—Horum beatus adolescens æmulari cupiens religionem, cum conniventia sui abbatis et fratrum in Hiberniam veloci cursu conscendit—ibique duodecim annis, inter eximios simul piæ religionis et sacræ lectionis magistros—erudiebatur. Tricesimo itaque

vouring consent of all, sent Vilbrord to Rome, the see of which was still governed by Sergius, who was besought by the prince that Vilbrord might be ordained archbishop for the people of Friesland.”

§ 67. Placed in like circumstances, Killian and Willibrord behaved exactly in like manner. Both were reared up under Irish masters, and spent years, upon their sacred studies, in Ireland; both left that country to go and announce the Catholic faith to the heathen; both went to Rome, and besought the sovereign pontiff's leave to preach, and craved his apostolic blessing on their future toils in widening the vineyard of the Lord. Being disciples of the same school, their doctrine—like water flowing from the same spring, though brought away in different vessels—was essentially the same. Both one and the other, therefore, may be looked upon as trusty exemplifiers of the practices and belief of Christ's holy Catholic Church in Ireland, at the periods when each of these great saints lived.

§ 68. But there is a something else, bound up along with this account of the missionary labours of Willibrord, which must not be lost sight of here.

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et tertio ætatis suæ anno, &c.—B. FLACCI ALCUINI *Vita* T. Willebrordi, *tom.* ii. *pp.* 183, 184, 185, *op.* Alcuini, *ed.* Frobenio.

The apostle of Friesland has been so fortunate, as not only to have had his holy deeds glanced at by Beda, but his life written, in verse as well as prose, by another of our Anglo-Saxon Church's glories—by Alcuin; who, with honest impartiality, freely allows Ireland the whole merit of having reared the English-born Willibrord in the knowledge of sacred things. For, in his metrical life of the saint, Alcuin sings of him :—

Venerat occiduis quidam de finibus orbis,

Vir virtute potens, divino plenus amore,

\* \* \* \*

Quem tibi jam genuit fœcunda Britannia mater,

Doctaque nutrit studiis sed Hibernia sacris.

And again :—

Ut dudum cecini, fœcunda Britannia mater,

Patria Scottorum clara magistra fuit.<sup>1</sup>

At the time when

#### ALCUIN

flourished (circa A.D. 780), and was looked up to, not only by his own England, but by the whole of Christendom, as one of the most learned men of the age, it is certain that, through the length and the breadth of Ireland, there were monasteries, in which the praises of God were sung night and day,

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<sup>1</sup> B. FLACCI ALCUINI *Vita S. Willibrordi metro composita inter Opera Alcuini*, t. ii. pp. 197, 200, ed. Frobenio.

and schools, kept open for the crowds of native and foreign students who flocked to hear their Irish inmates lecture, especially upon holy writ and theology. Among the many letters written by our Alcuin, there is one addressed, "To the most noble sons of holy Church, who throughout the breadth of the Irish isle, by a religious conversation, and their endeavours after wisdom, seem to serve Christ our God, the lowly deacon Alcuin wisheth the health of never-ending thrivingness in the Lord.<sup>1</sup>

"Hearing through a worshipful brother, a teacher of your learning, Dungal the bishop, that there flourisheth among you the religious conversation of a monastic life, pleasing unto God, I own I am very much rejoiced that the Lord Jesus is shown

<sup>1</sup> Nobilissimis sanctæ ecclesiæ filiis, qui per latitudinem Hiberniæ insulæ Deo Christo religiosa conversatione et sapientiæ studiis servire videntur, humilis Levita ALCHUINUS perpetuæ prosperitatis in Domino salutem.

Audiens per fratrem venerabilem, vestræ eruditionis Doctorem, Dungal episcopum religiosam Deoque placentem regularis vitæ vobiscum conversationem vigere, valde me gavisum fateor, quod Dominus Jesus—tantos sui sanctissimi nominis laudatores et veritatis prædicatores, et sanctæ sapientiæ sectatores probatur habere, quantos audio inclitam Hiberniæ insulam usque hodie possidere.

Igitur antiquo tempore doctissimi solebant magistri de Hibernia Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam venire, et multos per



to have so many praisers of his most holy name, so many preachers of his truth, and so many followers of his holy wisdom, as I hear the famous island of Ireland up to this day possesseth. In times of yore the most learned masters used to come from Ireland, to Britain, Gaul, and Italy, and to work much weal throughout the Churches of Christ; and the more the times are now known to be dangerous, and the greater the number of those who, according to the foretelling of the Apostle, go astray from the path of truth, so much the more earnestly must the truth of the Catholic faith be learned and taught everywhere among us; that the preachers of the orthodox belief may have wherewith to stand against those who gainsay the truth, and openly to overthrow the adversary of

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ecclesias Christi fecisse profectus; et quanto magis periculosa nunc esse tempora noscuntur, et plurimos, secundum Apostolicam prophetiam, a via veritatis avertentes; tanto instantius ipsa Catholicæ fidei veritas ubique inter vos discenda est et docenda ut habeant orthodoxæ fidei prædicatores, quo possint contradicentibus veritati resistere, et palam vincere adversarios Apostolicæ doctrinæ.—Unde, sanctissimi Patres, exhortamini juvenes vestros, ut diligentissime Catholicorum doctorum discant traditiones, et Catholicæ fidei rationes omni intentione adprehendere studeant.—B. FLACCI ALCUINI *Epist. ad Fratres qui in Hibernia insula per diversa loca Deo deservire videntur*. Inter ejusdem Opera, tom. i. pp. 284, 285, ed. Frobenio.

Apostolic doctrine. Hence, most holy fathers, stir up your young men to learn the traditions of the Catholic doctors with the utmost diligence, and to endeavour, with all their might, to understand the grounds of the Catholic belief."

§ 69. After praises so unstintingly bestowed by Alcuin upon Ireland, for her holiness of life, her sacred learning, and the eagerness with which her children wandered over Christendom to spread the true belief with so much good to the Church, surely the Irish people and Alcuin must have held one and the same common faith. We may, therefore, fairly borrow Alcuin's creed as a standard for trying Ireland's soundness in doctrine, up, at least, to his times. Now, if there be any one article of Catholic belief set forth with more strength, or greater nicety of speech, throughout the writings of that celebrated Anglo-Saxon monk, it is his declaration of the papal supremacy. Writing to Pope Leo III (A.D. 795-816), Alcuin thus begins his letter:—"To Leo the Pope, the most blessed Lord, to be named with all honour, the lowly deacon Albinus [for so he sometimes liked to call himself] wisheth the health of glory everlasting in Christ.

. . . . . "As much as ever I could, have I always loved the most blessed princes, and shepherds of the holy Roman see; wishful to be numbered, through their most holy intercessions, among

Christ's sheep, which Christ our God, after the glory of his resurrection, entrusted unto the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, to be fed. This I acknowledge was truly becoming, that the multitude of this flock, although abiding in sundry pastures of the earth, should, by the one faith of love, be placed under its shepherd, whom, as a godly herdsman, it becometh to have a great care for the flock entrusted to his keeping, and by the warnings of earnest godliness, and by the intercession of holiness, to forelook lest any of them should begin to stray from the pastures of everlasting life, or fall down the steeps of falsehood from the path of truth.<sup>1</sup>

“Behold, thou art, most holy Father, the pontiff chosen by God, the vicar of the Apostles, the

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<sup>1</sup> Domino beatissimo, atque omni honore nominando  
LEONI Papæ humilis Levita ALBINUS æternæ in Christo  
gloriæ salutem.

Semper sanctæ Romanæ Sedis beatissimos quantum valui Principes et Pastores amavi, cupiens illorum sanctissimis intercessionibus inter oves Christi numerari, quas Deus Christus post resurrectionis suæ gloriam beato Petro principi Apostolorum pascendas commendavit. Quod vere dignum esse fateor, omnem illius gregis multitudinem suo Pastori, licet in diversis terrarum pascuis commorantem una caritatis fide subjectam esse, et sicut pio Pastori condecet, magnam commissi sibi gregis curam habere, et sedula pietatis admonitione, et sanctitatis intercessione

heir of the fathers, the prince of the Church, the nourisher of the one spotless dove. In the kindness of fatherly feeling, by thy most holy prayers, and sweetest exhortations of sacred writings, gather us unto God's holy Church, within the very strong fold of the Church's soundness; lest any of us, wandering about, should be met on the outside, to be eaten up by the ravenousness of the wolf."

§ 70. After words such as these, we may say, without fear, that, had Ireland at any time been, even slightly, backward in showing her belief in the supremacy of the bishops of Rome; much less, had she at all withheld her people from yielding due obedience to their spiritual headship; Alcuin, with his feelings toward the holy see, would never have thought either Ireland or Irishmen worthy of those warm praises which we have just heard him pour out upon both.

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prævidere, ne aliqui ex illis per præcipitia errorum a via veritatis et perpetuæ pascuis vitæ exorbitare incipiant.

Ecce tu, sanctissime Pater Pontifex a Deo electus, Vicarius Apostolorum, hæres Patrum, Princeps ecclesiæ unius immaculatæ columbæ nutritor—congrega nos sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ paternæ miserationis affectu, tuis sanctissimis orationibus et dulcissimis sacrarum litterarum exhortationibus, intra firmissimum ecclesiæ soliditatis ovile, ne aliquis ex nobis errabundus lupina rapacitate foris inveniat devorandus.—B. FLACCI ALCUINI *Epistola ad LEONEM III. PAPAM. Inter ejusdem Opera, tom. i. p. 30, ed. Frobenio.*

§ 71. In the persons of these holy missionaries whom Ireland gave to continental Europe, we behold some of those strong links, with which, in love, reverence, and obedience for her Roman mother, she bound herself and her offspring to the cradle of her faith—the Apostolic see. But her foreign missionaries were not the only visitors whom Ireland, every now and then, sent to Rome, as children to their parent,<sup>1</sup> since we find

*Irish prelates*

who filled bishopricks, some among the Britons, others in their own country,

*used to go, on business, or for devotion,  
to Rome,*

and were not only admitted there into communion, but, without the slightest fear being felt by the pontiff of their being unsound upon any one article of Catholic belief, were willingly allowed to sit in, and subscribe to, those councils which happened to be held—and presided over by the Pope in person—during the stay of these Irish bishops in the capital of the Christian world. Pope Gregory II, who sat in the Apostolic chair from A.D. 715 to 731, summoned a council in Rome, A.D. 721, which was celebrated in St. Peter's church, and presided over by that Pope himself. Among the prelates who were present, and put their names to its

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<sup>1</sup> Velut natos ad matrem.—CUMIANI *Epist.*

decrees, we find, “Sedulius of the Irish nation, bishop in Britain, and Fergustus the Pict, bishop in Ireland.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 72. Already have we been told by an Irish writer of the ninth century, Probus, that,—“No great while after his having come to Ireland, Patrick, the man of God, went, as he had wished, to THE HEAD OF ALL CHURCHES—TO ROME; and there having asked and gotten the Apostolic blessing, he returned the same road by which he had gone thither.”<sup>2</sup> This testimony of Probus is

<sup>1</sup> Præsidente sanctissimo ac beatissimo Gregorio Apostolico Papa in basilica B. Petri Apostolorum Principis ante confessionem, considentibus etiam sanctiss. episcopis:

Agnelo Ferentinati

Agnelo Sutрино

\* \* \*

Sedulio episcopo Britanniae

\* \* \*

Fergusto episcopo Scotiae.

Sedulius Episc. Britanniae de genere Scotorum huic constituto a nobis promulgato subscripsi.

Fergustus Episcopus Scotiae Pictus huic constituto a nobis promulgato subscripsi. Concilium Romanum I. sub Gregorio II. A.D. 721 habitum.—*Concil. Gen. t. v. p. 458, ed. Binio.*

<sup>2</sup> Nec multo post progressus ad Hyberniam vir Domini Patricius venit ad caput, ut postularat omnium ecclesiarum Romam; ibique benedictione apostolica petita, et accepta, reversus est itinere quo venerat illuc.—PROBUS, *de Vita S. Patricii inter opera Bedæ, t. iii. p. 315. Basil. 1573.*

of two-fold value; for while it shows that St. Patrick began his mission in Ireland as St. Kilian and St. Willibrord did in Germany, by going to Rome to ask the leave and the blessing of the Apostolic see; it brings before us an Irishman, speaking in words as strong as they are unequivocal, as he upholds the headship or spiritual supremacy of Rome and her bishops over Ireland, over all the Churches of the earth.

§ 73. We now close this part of our argument by observing, soon after the conversion of Ireland, such was the warmth of her belief, and such the fond wishes of her children to kindle abroad the hallowed fire of the gospel, that, reckless of toil or danger, they went forth,<sup>1</sup> and made their faith, like that of the Romans in the Apostles' days, to be spoken of in the whole world; and they were pronounced by strangers, to surpass all their neigh-

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<sup>1</sup> Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad littora nostra migrantem.—HERICUS *in Epist. ad Carolum Calvum. Apud Boll. Act. SS. mense Julii, t. vii. p. 222.* Florebat Hericus A.D. 876. The journey which St. Declan took to Rome, is thus noticed:—Tunc in mente S. Declani Romanire venit: ut ibi mores ecclesiasticos disceret, et gradus acciperet et licentiam prædicandi a sede Apostolica haberet, et ordinem, et regulas secundum institutionem Romanam secum duceret.—*Ex Vita S. Declani apud USSERIUM, Brit. Eccl. Antiquit. p. 412.*

bours in religion.<sup>1</sup> Now, had Ireland stood aloof from Rome, had she refused to pay canonical obedience to the Roman Pontiff; certain is it, that no writer in any part, at least of western Christendom, could have been blind to that fact, or, with a knowledge of it, would have had the hardihood to say, with the biographer of the Irish St. Wiro,<sup>2</sup> that, among the inhabitants of the island of Ireland, the custom was, “first, to choose their pastor, and then send him to Rome, to be ordained by the Apostolic hands, whence he was to come back to his people.” Nor should we read so often of holy men who went forth from Ireland to Rome, and, like bishop Mark, and his nephew Moengal,<sup>3</sup> in the

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<sup>1</sup> Columbanus . . . . ortus est ex Hibernia insula in extremo oceani . . . Hanc Scottorum gens incolit, gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fide præpollet.—*Vita S. COLUMBANI, auct. Jona fere æquali, apud Mabillon, Act. SS. O. B. t. ii. p. 5.*

<sup>2</sup> Igitur Scotia, uber sanctorum patrum insula, stellarum numeris sanctorum coequans patrocina, multis ad salutem protulit Wironem.

Moris erat apud incolas ejusdem insulæ, primo pastorem inter eos eligere, tum electum Romam dirigere, Apostolicis manibus ordinandum, ordinatumque sedem et plebem revisere.—*Anonymus de S. WIRONE apud Bolland. Act. SS. tom. ii. Maji, pp. 315, 316.*

<sup>3</sup> Grimaldi temporibus Marcus quidam Scottigena episcopus Gallum tamquam compatriotam suum Roma rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal, &c.—



ninth century, ask and have given them hospitality, on their road, at the different monastic houses, founded on the continent by their saintly countrymen.

§ 74. We now come to documents which tell us how closely Ireland kept up her connection with the head of the Church, among other ways, through

LANFRANC and ST. ANSELM.

Alike remarkable for an unflinching zeal in maintaining the Papal supremacy, both these great men were, in turn, archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of the Britains; both were honoured, nay, revered, by the Popes of their time; one of whom, Alexander II, who had studied in the great school at Bec under Lanfranc, bestowed upon his old master, the dignity of legate.

About the year 1074, there came from Ireland a letter, thus addressed:—"To Lanfranc the venerable metropolitan of the holy church of Canterbury, the clergy and people of the church of Dublin show due subjection."<sup>1</sup>

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EKKEHARDUS, *de casibus monas. S. Galli*, apud Goldast. *RR. Al. Scriptores*, t. i. p. 36. According to Mabillon, Ekkehard flourished A.D. 973.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* t. iii. p. 576.

<sup>1</sup> Venerando sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Metropolitano Lanfranco, Clerus et populus ecclesiæ Dublinensis debitam subjectionem.

Vestræ Paternitati est cognitum quod ecclesia Dubli-

§ 75. This letter then goes on to say,—“It is known to your fraternity that the church of Dublin, which is the metropolis of the island of Ireland, is bereft of her pastor, and left without a ruler. On which account, we have chosen a priest, by name Patrick, fraught with apostolic and ecclesiastical discipline, Catholic in faith, exercised in Church dogmas; who, we beseech, may be ordained bishop for us as quickly as may be.” Archbishop Lanfranc yielded to the request of the Dublin clergy, and received the profession, given by each bishop to his primate, which was worded as follows:—“I Patrick the bishop elect to preside over Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do reach out unto thee, reverend father Lanfranc, the primate of the Britains, and archbishop of the church of Canterbury, this writing of my profession; and I promise that I will obey thee and thy successors in all things belonging to the Christian religion.”<sup>1</sup> Again, we

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nensis (quæ Hiberniæ insulæ metropolis est) suo sit viduata pastore, ac destituta rectore. Propterea elegimus presbyterum, nomine Patricium—apostolica et ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum, fide Catholicum, in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatum. Quem nobis quantocius petimus ordinari episcopum, &c.—Apud USSERIUM, *Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*, p. 48.

<sup>1</sup> *Professio PATRICII Dublinensis Episcopi.*

Quisquis aliis præsidet, si et ipse aliis subjaceat, dedig-

find this same archbishop and papal legate Lanfranc answering the theological difficulties put to him for solution by Domnald the bishop; who is thought by some to have held the primatial see of Armagh, by others, more correctly, that of Cashel.<sup>1</sup>

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nari non debet, sed potius obedientiam, quam a subjectis suis desiderat habere, propter Deum studeat prælatis suis sibi per omnia exhibere. Propterea ego Patricius ad regendam Dublinam Metropolem Hiberniæ electus Antistes, tibi reverende Pater Lanfrance, Britanniarum Primas, et sanctæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, professionis meæ cartam porrigo; meque tibi tuisque successoribus in omnibus quæ ad Christianam religionem pertinent obtemperaturum esse promitto.—WARTON, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 80.

<sup>1</sup> *Lanfrancus indignus sanctæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Antistes venerando Hiberniæ episcopo D(omnaldo) et iis qui sibi litteræ transmiserunt, salutem et benedictionem.*

In itinere positi—quando litteras vestras, nuncio vestro deferente, suscepimus. Quem cum rogassemus ut saltem paucis diebus nobiscum maneret, quatenus, perquisitis libris, congruum pro captu nostro ad consulta vestra responsum vobis referret, &c.

Revera et procul pulsa omni ambiguitate sciatis neque transmarinas ecclesias neque nos Anglos, hanc de infantibus tenere sententiam, quam putatis, &c.

Domnaldus autem sive Dofnaldus Armachanus videtur fuisse archiepiscopus, et totius Hiberniæ Primas.—*Apud Usserium, Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*, pp. 51, 52.

I have used the term ‘Britains’ purposely, as it is evident from Eadmer, a cotemporary, that the Primate of

§ 76. The immediate successor to Lanfranc in the primacy of the Britains, was Anselm, who very soon wrote to the episcopal body in Ireland, a letter, which commences in these terms :—"Anselm the bishop of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, to his reverend fellow-bishops the elder Domnald, Donat, and to the others eminent in the island of Ireland for the pontifical dignity, wisheth blessing.

"Knowing, by many proofs, the odour of your religion, I am determined to lay open more especially unto you the troubles I am going through; that the nearer you stand to the Creator, the better you may be able to set forth my distress in his presence." Then, telling them of the afflictions he had to undergo from the king and his court, Anselm continues :—"Wherefore, venerable brethren, sons of everlasting charity, I beseech you pray," &c. and towards the end, he says, "Moreover, by pastoral solicitude am I bound to warn your fraternity, although rightly living, and being rightly wise, to act manfully and watchfully in the doctrine of God, checking with canonical severity anything

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England expected to have had paid to the see of Canterbury canonical obedience from not only England, but from Ireland, Scotland, and the neighbouring isles, for he says : "*Ipsam totius Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ necne adjacens insularum matrem, ecclesiam scilicet Cantuariensem invasit (rex).*"—EADMERI, *Hist. Novor. lib. i. p. 14.*

that shall be found in your provinces against ecclesiastical doctrine, and disposing of all things according to God's will. Whenever there shall arise among you any matter belonging to holy religion, either in the consecration of bishops, or in the affairs of ecclesiastical business, which cannot be defined by yourselves, we admonish you, as it befits charity, to bring the question to our notice."<sup>1</sup>

§ 77. In Ireland, it was deemed fitting that Waterford should be raised to the dignity of a bishoprick. To bring this about, a deputation was sent over to Anselm, craving him, both as their primate, and in virtue of the authority entrusted to him by the Apostolic see, "in whose stead" he acted, to comply with the wishes, on this head, of the people, the nobles, the clergy, the king of Ireland, and to consecrate the priest Malchus,

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<sup>1</sup> Anselmus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ Metropolitanus Antistes, reverendis coepiscopis, seniori Domnaldo, Donato, ac cæteris in Hiberniæ insula pontificali eminentibus dignitate—benedictionem.

Odorem religionis vestræ plurimis indiciis agnoscens, &c. Si quando vero (seu in consecrationibus episcoporum seu in ecclesiasticorum negotiorum causis, seu quibuslibet aliis rationibus) aliquid quod ad sacram religionem pertineat inter vos ortum fuerit, quod per vos canonice nequeat defini: charitatis officio id ad notitiam nostram perferri commonemus.—*Apud Usserium Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*, p. 62.

whom they had chosen for that honour. Eadmer, the friend and companion of Anselm, thus notices this occurrence :—"The king of Ireland, by name Murchertach, and Dofnald the bishop, with the rest of the bishops, and whosoever were noble along with the clergy and people of that island, sent messengers and letters to Anselm, making known to him that in one of his provinces there was a certain city called Wataferd, for which, on account of the multitude of its inhabitants, it was right that a bishop should be appointed; at the same time, begging he would meet the wants of holy Christianity, and consult the utility of the people, by appointing a bishop for them, IN VIRTUE OF THE POWER OF PRIMACY WHICH HE HELD OVER THEM, AND OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE APOSTOLIC STEAD WHICH HE EXERCISED." Of the many names which Eadmer tells us were appended to this document, he has preserved the following only :—

Murchertach (or Murtogh) King of Ireland.

Dermot the Duke, the King's brother.

Domnald, bishop.

Idunan, bishop of Meath.

Samuel, bishop of Dublin.

Ferdomnach, bishop of Leinster.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anselmo, Dei gratia Anglorum Archiepiscopo, et omnibus diocesis suæ episcopis, Clerus et populus oppidi

§ 78. On other fitting occasions, St. Anselm did not fail to exercise his high authority. To Samuel of Dublin, one of these subscribing prelates, the

Watafordiæ, cum Rege Murchertacho et Episcopo Domnaldo, salutem in Domino.

Propterea nos, et Rex noster Murchertachus, et episcopus Domnaldus, et Dermeth dux noster frater regis, elegimus hunc presbyterum Malchum, &c. Hunc nobis petimus a vestra Paternitate ordinari pontificem: quatenus regulariter nobis præesse valeat, &c.

Ego Murchertachus Rex Hiberniæ subscripsi.

Ego Dermeth Dux Frater Regis subscripsi.

Ego Domnaldus Episcopus subscripsi.

Ego Idunan Episcopus Mediæ subscripsi.

Ego Samuel Dublinensis Episcopus subscripsi.

Ego Ferdornachus Laginiensium Episcopus subscripsi. Subscripserunt his inulto plures quos nos brevitati studentes notare non necessarium duximus.—EADMERI, *Hist. Novorum*, lib. ii. p. 36.

Rex Hiberniæ Murchertachus nomine, et Dofnaldus episcopus cum cæteris episcopis, et quique nobiles cum clero, et populo ipsius insulæ miserunt nuncios ac literas ad Anselmum innotescentes ei civitatem quandam Wataferdiam nomine, in una suarum provinciarum esse; cui ob numerosam civium multitudinem expediret episcopum institui, simulque petentes, ipse quatenus *Primatus quem super eos gerebat potestate, et* QUA FUNGEBATUR VICIS APOSTOLICÆ AUTHORITATE sanctæ Christianitati ac necessariæ plebium utilitati instituendo eis pontificem subveniret.—EADMERI, *Historiæ Novorum*, lib. ii. p. 36, ed. Seldeno, Lond. 1623.

saint had occasion to write. "I have heard," says the primate, "that thou hast a cross borne before thee on the high ways. If this be true, I order thee to do so no more, because this belongeth only to an archbishop confirmed by the pall from the Roman pontiff; and it doth not become thee to show thyself, by the assumption of any unusual thing, remarkable and blameworthy in the eyes of men."<sup>1</sup> The letter which Anselm addressed to Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, is in quite another tone, and on a different subject: it thanks that Irish prelate for a little present of pearls; and heartens him onward to stir his prince and brother bishops to put down vice, and countenance everything that is good, around them.

§ 79. We will stop for a moment to look upon the circumstances connected with this part of Irish church history. On the one side, we see; 1°. the people, nobles, clergy, and bishops of different Irish cities, standing as wide asunder from one another as Armagh is from Waterford, Limerick

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<sup>1</sup> *Audivi quia facis portari crucem ante te in via. Quod si verum est; mando tibi ne amplius hoc facias; quia non pertinet nisi ad archiepiscopum a Romano Pontifice pallio confirmatum; neque decet te, ut ulla præsumptione insolitæ rei te notabilem, et reprehensibilem hominibus ostendas. Vale.*—ANSELMUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS CANTUARÆ, *venerabili fratri Samueli Dublinæ civitatis episcopo. Apud Usserium Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge, p. 69.*



from Cashel, Meath, and Dublin; as well as the king of all Ireland, Murtogh O'Brien, and his son Dermod, all unite in holding communion with Lanfranc and Anselm: 2°. the great bulk of the people, most of the nobles, all of the clergy, must have been Irish; so were all the bishops, as their very Irish names testify: 3°. this body, made up of all ranks in church and state, and, therefore, a true representative of the nation's belief, ask to have favours granted them in virtue of the very authority entrusted by the Pope to the personage whom they are soliciting; for they remind Anselm that they beg him to consecrate a bishop for Waterford, not only in virtue of the power of the primacy which he held over them," but also, "in virtue of the authority of the Apostolic stead which he exercised:" 4°. the Irish had among their bishops who used such language to Anselm, some of the ablest scholars and divines in Europe, and especially well informed in ecclesiastical usages. But, on the other side, we behold, 1°. Lanfranc and Anselm, both, men celebrated, in their day, for their deep knowledge of theology and sacred learning: 2°. both, archbishops; decorated with the Roman pall; and primates, and, as such, not only believing, like every other Catholic, in the spiritual supremacy of the Popes, but bound to uphold it: 3°. Lanfranc had been honoured by the Roman pontiff with the dignity of the legatine power: 4°. in Anselm, the

Irish people, clergy, nobles, bishops, and king, acknowledged "the authority of the Apostolic stead." Now, who, with facts like these staring him in the face, can dream, for a moment, that any one existed in Ireland who did not believe in the headship of Rome? All, down to the lowliest layman, must have held this essential article of the Christian's belief—the spiritual supremacy of the Roman bishop. Had it been otherwise with Ireland, such men as Lanfranc and Anselm would have done and said in a manner different from what they did. Neither one nor other would have laid consecrating hands upon any man who did not believe exactly as they believed. So far from unbosoming his griefs to the bishops of Ireland, and calling them his "venerable brethren—sons of everlasting charity;" instead of begging to be remembered in their prayers, Anselm would have looked upon them as heretics. He durst not have told them they were "rightly living and rightly wise." In their enumeration of those several faults which both Lanfranc and Anselm knew of, and blamed among the Irish, with such becoming zeal, they would not have forgotten to notice a want of true belief or proper respect in reference to the papal supremacy, had the Irish been wrong in the one, or wanting in the other of these points. Those great men would not have failed to warn the Irish bishops, whom they admonished on much less important subjects, to lead

the clergy and the people right on such an article of faith, had there been the slightest reason for doubting the orthodoxy of the Irish concerning it.

§ 80. But during the time this close correspondence was going on with the see of Canterbury, we find there was a letter written, A.D. 1085, by the reigning Roman pontiff to the Irish portion of his fold, of the following tenour :—"Gregory the bishop the servant of the servants of God, to Terdelvach the renowned king of Ireland ; to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, nobles, and to all Christians dwelling in Ireland, health and Apostolic blessing.

. . . . . "Therefore unto the blessed Peter and his vicars, among whom hath it disposed the divine dispensation to number our lot, doth the whole globe owe obedience and likewise reverence, which, with a devout mind, do you remember to show to the holy Roman Church. But as most dear children do we exhort you to practise justice, to keep and love the Catholic peace of the Church, and in the embraces of charity to join unto you those so loving her. If any business should arise among you which should seem worthy our aid, take heed to forward it to us immediately, and what you shall justly ask, with the help of God, shall you obtain." <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei Terdelvacho incltyto Regi Hiberniæ ; Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abba-

§ 81. That the pontiff was warranted in thinking that he spoke to children loving as they were loved—to a clergy and people who did not disown his spiritual authority—is clear; as well from his letter, as from the writings of an eminent Irish prelate who lived about this time, and whose interesting treatise on the “Church” has fortunately come down to us. Its author, who was

GILBERT *bishop of Limerick*,

in the year 1090, addresses his work, “To the bishops and priests of the whole of Ireland;” and at the beginning of it, strongly insists upon that unity which should bind all the faithful together. In illustration of this great Catholic truth, which rests, as he well observes, on such strong grounds

tibus, Proceribus, omnibusque Christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Beato igitur Petro ejusque vicariis (inter quos dispensatio divina nostram quoque sortem annumerari disposuit) orbis universus obedientiam similiter et reverentiam debet: quam mente devota sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ exhibere reminiscimini. Vos autem (ut charissimos filios) exhortamur justiciam exercere, Catholicam ecclesiæ pacem tueri et diligere ipsamque diligentes ulnis charitatis vobis adjungere. Si qua vero negotia penes vos emeruerint quæ nostro digna videantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete: et quod juste postulaveritis, Deo auxiliante impetrabitis.—GREGORII VII. ROMANI PONTIFICIS *ad Hibernos Epistola*, apud Usserium, *Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge*, p. 53.

in holy writ, Gilbert had sketched a drawing of a church, at the head of his book, and, while referring to his illumination, says, "It [the picture] showeth that all the Church's members are to be brought under one bishop, to wit, Christ, and his vicar blessed Peter the Apostle, and the Pope presiding in his chair; and to be governed by them.

"For like as Noah was put over the ark amid the waves of the flood, just so does the Roman pontiff rule the Church on the billows of the world.

"Both archbishop and primate it behoveth to be ordained at Rome by the Pope, or that the pall should be fetched from Rome from the Pope.

"To Peter only was it said, '*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church*'; therefore it is the Pope only who stands high above the whole Church, and he puts in order, and judges all."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Usu Ecclesiastico.*

Episcopis et presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsulum Gillebertus Lunicensis in Christo salutem.

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Namque omnia ecclesiæ membra uni Episcopo videlicet Christo ejusque vicario beato Petro Apostolo atque in ejus sede præsidenti Apostolico, subjici et ab eis manifestat gubernari.

Quia sicut Noe arcæ præerat inter undas diluvii; ita *Romanus Pontifex regit ecclesiam in fluctibus sæculi.*

§ 82. The Irish church-annals of the next, or twelfth century, put us in possession of an event which, by itself, exhibits a splendid, and, at the same time, practical refutation of those men's opinions who say,—“It was not till an English king conquered Ireland, that the supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged by it.” It is a well known fact that, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and years before Henry II sent an army to the Irish shores,

*The primate of all Ireland, St. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, by the consent of his brother bishops and the clergy, went to Rome himself to ask the Pope to bestow palls upon the Irish archbishops.*

§ 83. Of this we have a minute account from the trust-worthy pen of a cotemporary, the great St. Bernard, the especial friend of the chief mover in this proceeding, St. Malachy, from whose lips he, no doubt, heard the narrative. Upon St. Ber-

Utrumque enim, Archiepiscopum et Primate[m] oportet Romæ ab Apostolico ordinari, aut a Roma eis a Papa pallium afferri.

Soli tamen Petro dictum est : *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.* Papa ergo solus universali præeminet ecclesiæ et IPSE OMNES ORDINAT ET JUDICAT.—GILLEBERTI LUNICENSIS (Limerick) *episcopi Epistola ad Episcopos Hiberniæ, apud USSERIUM, Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge, p. 54 et passim.*

nard's head St. Malachy's last blessing lighted ; and St. Bernard it was who received the dying breath, and closed the eyes, of this illustrious Irish saint.

“ It happened that the primate Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, who had ordained Malachy, deacon, priest, and bishop, fell sick ;<sup>1</sup> and finding himself at the point of death, sent off his pastoral staff to Malachy, as his successor.”<sup>2</sup> No sooner was Malachy seated in the archiepiscopal chair of Armagh, than he began to weigh in his mind the spiritual wants of his country, and to think of the best way for bringing about many salutary improvements. “ But it seemed<sup>3</sup> to him that it would not be sufficiently safe to take any steps in this business, without the authority of the Apostolic see ; he, therefore, resolved on going to Rome, and chiefly, because the use of the pall—the fulness of honour—was still, and had from the beginning,

<sup>1</sup> Contigit infirmari archiepiscopum Celsum. Et ipse est qui Malachiam in diaconem, presbyterum, episcopumque ordinavit.—*Vita S. MALACHIÆ a S. Bernardo. Apud Surium, tom. vi. p. 95.*

<sup>2</sup> Celsus moriens misit baculum suum Malachiæ tanquam sibi successuro.—*Ibid. p. 96.*

<sup>3</sup> Visum tamen sibi, non tute satis actitari ista absque sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate et Romam proficisci deliberat : maximeque quod metropolitæ sedi deerat adhuc, et defuerat ab initio pallii usus, quod est plenitudo honoris.—

been wanting to the metropolitan see. Besides this, there was another metropolitan see, which Celsus had newly erected, subject, however, to the first see and its archbishop as primate. For this see also did Malachy wish to get the pall, and to have its prerogative, which it had acquired from the beneficence of Celsus, confirmed to it by the authority of the Apostolic see. For Malachy, wishful for every holy rite, not one of which he would have had his countrymen deprived of, much regretted that up to that time, Ireland had never had the pall.<sup>1</sup>

“Then was there in the Apostolic chair Pope Innocent II [A.D. 1130-1143] of happy memory, who graciously received him, and, on Malachy’s preparing to go back home, commissioned him to act in his stead, by appointing him legate over the whole of Ireland. For it had been signified to the Pontiff by bishop Gillebert, who, as we have mentioned above, was, at the time, legate, that through

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Erat et altera metropolitana sedes quam de novo constituerat Celsus: primæ tamen sedi, et illius archiepiscopo subdita, tamquam primati. Et huic quoque optabat nihilominus pallium Malachias confirmarique autoritate sedis Apostolicæ prærogativam quam beneficio Celsi adipisci meruerat.—*Ibid.* p. 99.

<sup>1</sup> Ægre satis ferebat, Hyberniam usque adhuc pallio caruisse, utpote æmulator sacramentorum; quorum ne uno quolibet gentem suam vellet omnino fraudari.—*Ibid.* p. 110.



old age and bodily weakness, he could no longer work. After this, Malachy asked to have the erection of the new metropolitan see confirmed, and palls to be given him for both bishopricks. As for the confirmation, he immediately got that privilege; 'but, for the palls,' said the Roman Pontiff, 'it behoveth to act with greater solemnity. Having called together the bishops, the clergy, and the chief men of the country, you must hold a general council, and thus by the connivance and common wish of all, you must ask, through worshipful personages, for the pall; and it shall be granted to you.' Moreover, the Pope taking off the mitre from his own head, put it on Malachy's, and he gave him a stole and maniple which he was accustomed to wear when he offered up [the sacrifice]; and then saluting him with a holy kiss of peace, he sent him away, upheld by the Apostolic blessing and authority."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Erat tunc temporis in sede Apostolica felicis memoriæ Innocentius secundus Papa, qui eum benigne suscepit—paranti (Malachiæ) jam repatriare *commisit vices suas per universam Hyberniam legatum illum constituens*. Significatum siquidem erat ei ab episcopo Gilleberto, qui ut supra memoravimus, tunc legatus extiterat; quod jam non posset præ senio, et debilitate corporis villicare. Post hæc petit Malachias confirmari novæ metropolis constitutionem, et utriusque sedis pallia sibi dari. Et confirmationis quidem privilegium mox accepit: de palliis autem (ait summus

§ 84. On Malachy's reaching Ireland, in obedience to the Pope's command, "the bishops are convoked, the council is gathered, and, for three days, the wants of the times are treated of: on the fourth, the question about asking for the palls is broached. It pleaseth: and on the breaking up of the council, Malachy starts off again to Rome."

But the Irish bishop never reached the capital of Christendom a second time. He took Clairvaux on his road; where he fell ill of a fever, and died, A.D. 1148, in the arms of his beloved friend, and the writer of his life, St. Bernard.

§ 85. The palls, however, were not forgotten. In the year 1151, Pope Eugenius III (A.D. 1145-1153) sent over to Ireland Cardinal Paparo as Apostolic legate; and in the month of March the year fol-

Pontifex) oportet solennius agi. Convocatis episcopis, et clericis, et maioribus terræ, celebrabis generale concilium; et sic conniventia et communi voto universorum per honestas personas requiretis pallium, et dabitur vobis. Deinde tollens mithram de capite suo, imposuit capiti ejus; sed et stolam cum manipulo dedit illi, quibus uti inter offerendum solebat. Et salutatum in osculo pacis dimisit eum Apostolica *fulgur* benedictione et *authoritate*.—*Vita S. MALACHIÆ a S. Bernardo apud Surium, tom. vi. p. 100.*

<sup>1</sup> Itaque convocantur episcopi, concilium cogitur: tractata triduo, quæ tempori imminerent: die quarto aperitur consilium de Pallio requirendo. Placet.—Et Malachias, soluto concilio, arripit iter.—*Ibid. p. 111.*

lowing, a council was held at Kells, presided over by the resident papal legate Christian, bishop of Lismore, an Irishman. In this council, besides four-and-twenty native prelates, there was present Cardinal Paparo, Pope Eugenius's legate; and it was decreed that Ireland should be parceled out into four archbishopricks—Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, to each one of which a certain number of suffragans was assigned and subjected; and to the four archbishops thus constituted, Cardinal Paparo, who had been sent to Ireland as legate by Pope Eugenius III, delivered in this synod the four palls which he had brought with him.<sup>1</sup> If ever there was a meeting of the nation in Ireland, it was this; for the ancient annals of that country give us to understand, the episcopal body was not

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<sup>1</sup> HIBERNICUM (concilium) anno MCLII. in cœnobio Melifontis, seu potius Kenlice in Midia, præsidente Christiano Episcopo Lismorensi Pontificis Legato, a xxiv. Hiberniæ Episcopis mense Martio congregatum. In quo iv. Hiberniæ Archiepiscopatus, Armachanus, Dubliniensis, Casseliensis et Tuamensis instituti sunt, cuilibet Archiepiscopo certo suffraganeorum numero subjecto et assignato. Atque his quatuor Archiepiscopis jam constitutis, Joannes Papiro Cardinalis, Legatus ab Eugenio III in Hiberniam missus, quatuor Pallia quæ secum detulerat in hac Synodo tradidit.—CAVE, *Historia Literaria*, t. ii. p. 416. SPELMAN, *Concilia*, t. ii. p. 49. WILKINS, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* t. i. p. 425.

the only one to show its homage to the Roman Pontiff, by hastening to Kells to welcome and listen to the Roman cardinal; since we learn from those venerable sources that princes, and kings, and crowds of Irish nobility went there;<sup>1</sup> and that, altogether, there was no smaller a number than three thousand ecclesiastics present at this council.<sup>2</sup>

§ 86. But besides these palls which were sought for, and obtained from Rome by the Irish Church, there is another historical fact which shows, that before the coming over of the English, the Irish people acknowledged and obeyed the Papal supremacy; and this fact is that

*Years before the reign of Henry II, the Church in Ireland admitted legates from the Pope.*

§ 87. If we allow ourselves to think that Cardinal Paparo was the first whom the Irish saw among them entrusted with legatine authority by

<sup>1</sup> Ad annum (1152) sic loquitur anonymus *qui tum vixit*. Idem Christianus in Mell concilium celebravit: cui interfuerunt episcopi, abbates, reges, duces, et majores natu Hibernie.—*Apud SPELMAN, Concil. t. ii. p. 49.*

<sup>2</sup> iv Magistri ad ann. 1152 inquirunt, huic concilio interfuisse Ecclesiasticos 3000.—O'CONNOR, *Rer. Hib. Script. t. i. Proleg. ii. p. clvi. in notis*. The names in Irish, and the titles of the sees belonging to the greater part of the bishops who attended this council, are given from an ancient MS. by Dr. O'Connor.—*Ibid. p. clix.*

the Pope, we shall fall into a grievous mistake. For more than half a century before our Henry II cast (A.D. 1155) a wishful eye upon the fair lordship of Ireland, that country had always living within her a Papal legate, in the person of some one or another of her own bishops. The chosen prelate so honoured, was not the less a representative of the Papal authority from being an Irishman, and not, like Cardinal Paparo, a foreigner; while Ireland's recognition of the Roman supremacy and jurisdiction in matters of religion, over her, shown in her ready admittance of a Papal legate, instead of being weakened, was, on the contrary, made stronger, from her own bishops consenting, as well as being deemed at Rome trust-worthy enough, to have that dignity from the Pope conferred upon them.

§ 88. That Gilbert bishop of Limerick, about the year 1090, acted in Ireland as Papal legate, we are distinctly told by St. Bernard<sup>1</sup> more than once, in his life of St. Malachy, who succeeded the bishop of Limerick in that high dignity. For while Malachy was at Rome, Pope Eugenius got a letter from Gilbert, begging, on the score of old age and weakly health, to be allowed to resign that honour

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<sup>1</sup> Gilebertus quem aiunt prima functum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hyberniam.—*Vita S. MALACHIE a S. Bernardo scripta apud Surium, t. vi. p. 95.*

into the hands of the Pontiff. Gilbert's prayer was granted by Eugenius, who bestowed the legatine office on Malachy.<sup>1</sup> In writing to his holy friend, St. Bernard always addressed him by the title of legate of the Apostolic see ;<sup>2</sup> and he assures us that the honour with which he had been invested, did not betray itself in his outward manners. St. Malachy went about discharging the duties of the legatine office. Many meetings were held in many places, that no province nor part of a province might be deprived of the fruit and usefulness of the legateship ; and when he went out to preach, with his servants on foot, bishop and legate as he was, he walked on foot also."<sup>3</sup>

§ 89. At the death of this holy bishop, it is more than likely that Christian, bishop of Lismore, was

<sup>1</sup> See § 83.

<sup>2</sup> Venerabili Domino, et beatissimo Patri Malachie, Dei Gratia Hiberniensium Archiepiscopo. APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS LEGATO frater Bernardus Claravallis vocatus Abbas, invenire gratiam apud Dominum.—BERNARDI *Claravallis Abbat*, ad Malachiam Hiberniæ episcopum Epistolæ, apud Usserium. *Vet. Epist.* pp. 71, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Verumtamen non sapit honor: opus exercetur legationis. Multis in locis celebrantur conventus multi ne qua regio seu portio regionis, legationis fructu, et utilitate fraudetur.—*Vita S. MALACHIE a S. Bernardo apud Surium, t. vi. p. 101.* Cum exiret ad prædicandum cum pedibus pedes et ipse ibat episcopus et Legatus.—*Ibid. p. 102.*

appointed Papal legate; since we find him presiding, as such, at the great council met at Kells for receiving the especial legate Cardinal Paparo, sent over by the Pope with the palls to the four archbishops. Moreover, we read the name of Christian first, even before that of the primate of all Ireland, on the list of those prelates who attended that synod.<sup>1</sup>

§ 90. The way in which Ireland received the Papal legates, again lets us see those strong ties by which she has, from the birth of her Christianity, stood linked in close union with St. Peter's chair; and with what willingness she has ever acknowledged the Papal supremacy.

§ 91. Rome herself was well aware of both these facts, as is clear from the answer which Pope Adrian IV (A.D. 1154-1159) wrote to Henry II (A.D. 1154-1189), on the subject of invading Ireland. In his letter, the Pontiff reminds<sup>2</sup> the king

<sup>1</sup> Among the Harleian MSS. there is a copy of Flannan Mac Eogan's book, in which Christian's name, in its Irish form of "Giolla Crist," stands first as being legate, and even before that of the primate.

An. MCLII ab Incarnatione Dni nri J. C.—nobile concilium—apud Ceannanus celebratum fuit. Hi sunt Epi. qui huic concilio interfuerunt.

Giolla Crist o conairci Eps. Lismor. Legatus.

Giolla mac Liach Primas Hiberniæ, &c.

*Apud O'Connor, Rer. Hib. Script. t. i. proleg. ii. p. clix.*

<sup>2</sup> Significasti siquidem nobis fili in Christo carissime, te

of all his royal promises; one of which was, that he would preserve the rights of the churches of that island "whole and untouched." Upon the fulfilment of this pledge given on the part of Henry, Adrian lays a heavy stress, and warns that English prince to let the churches of Ireland remain in the undisturbed possession and enjoyment of their whole and entire rights.

§ 92. From what is well attested by the history of the period, it is easy to imagine that, at the beginning of our Henry II's reign, all public authority in Ireland must have dwindled down to a mere shadow, without strength to uphold in the slightest degree the majesty of the laws. Hatreds, jealousies, and constant struggles for mastery, between the princes of Ireland; the sudden rises and as sudden falls of her several kings; broils and feuds among her nobles; must have broken up throughout the land all order, and put the administration of justice to flight. In such a woful state of things, bad men always rise uppermost, and the good are

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Hiberniæ insulam . . . velle intrare, et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem, et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conservare . . .

Jure nimirum ecclesiarum illibato et integro permanente.  
*Epist. ADRIANI PAPÆ ad Henricum II. Regem Ang. apud Giraldum Camb. in Hibernia Expugnata, lib. ii. c. vi. p. 787, ed. Camdeno. Francof. 1603.*



trampled upon ; the wicked scoff at religion, and, loosened from the wholesome dread of the civil magistrate, are the less likely to heed the Church's voice, or fear anything from her warnings, however sound may be the belief of her pastors.

§ 93. From all we know of Henry's wiliness and ambition, but especially his coveting so much to get hold on Ireland, we may well imagine how he would try to darken the colour of this sad state of things to the eye of the Roman Pontiff ; and teach his messengers at Rome to cloak themselves under a show of zeal for God's honour ; and breathe into Adrian's ears the language of piety, whispering how well it would betide even the Irish Church herself to have the fostering care, and enjoy the strong safeguards which such a sovereign as the king their master could throw around her ministers, and make her voice not only heard, but heeded too, by her now lawless people. For, often does it happen that princes try to hide their politics under the garb of affected anxiety for the welfare of religion, and only prove once more that, "The voice indeed is the voice of Jacob ; but the hands are the hands of Esau." Let us read Adrian's letter with this light thrown upon it, and we shall find that the pontiff imagined that the Church in Ireland, which he must have well known was always so fondly devoted to Rome, would derive protection, and gather up her old strength, at the

success of the English ; and thus bring back her people believing, as they still happily did, all the doctrines, to practise all the morality taught them by their pastors. For, assuredly, if Adrian had but slightly doubted within himself that the faith of the Irish was not so pure as it ought to be ; had he the smallest reason for thinking that the Irish Church was at all unwilling to recognize the spiritual supremacy of Rome ; he, as Pope, would have done anything else but insist, as strongly as he did, on the most scrupulous preservation to the Church in Ireland of all her rights, by the English sovereign.

§ 94. But it is unhesitatingly said by some that “ the first work of Henry II was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly he procured a council of the Irish clergy to be held at Cashel in 1172, and the combined influence and intrigues of Henry and the Pope prevailed. This council put an end to the ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome.” Here we have a triple charge boldly and broadly set up and built upon the proceedings at Cashel : 1°. the reduction of the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman pontiff ; 2°. intrigue between pope and king ; 3°. an end put to the ancient Church of Ireland, and its consequent subjection to the yoke of Rome.

§ 95. If facts be stubborn, so are they also

heartless things, for, often, will they mar a nicely rounded period, and upset many a fond system. Yet, never have they wrought this more signally than in the present instance, in letting us see that this three-headed dart brandished with such a show of historical truth, turns out after all, to be so like Neptune's trident in its fabulousness as well as form.

§ 96. To say that—"the first work of Henry II was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman pontiff"—is to fall into two historical blunders, by assuming what is not true—that since her becoming Christian there ever was a period when Ireland disowned obedience to the Pope. In the first place, from beginning to end, Henry never did try to subject the Church of Ireland to the Pope, and although he had pledged himself to Adrian IV that Ireland should send Peter-pence, like England, to Rome, he never took one step to redeem his promise, or levy that contribution on the Irish. Secondly, Henry never could have subjected the Church in Ireland to Rome, for the obvious reason that it was quite beyond the possibilities of Henry to be the first to do a thing which had already been done, and that hundreds of years before he was born. From those numerous extracts which we have brought forward out of the fathers of the early Irish Church, it is placed beyond the reach of contradiction, that

Rome was the mother Church to Ireland, who, from her cradle up to the days of Pope Adrian and King Henry, clung, with a daughter's love, to Rome, and always acknowledged her Roman mother's supremacy. Henry, therefore, could not have been the first to bring about that which had always existed; for, as long as Ireland had had a Church, that Church had been obedient to Rome. Those, then, who say that, "The first work of Henry II was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman Pontiff," could have never known, or must have quite forgotten, everything about the history of the Church in Ireland. Instead of Henry making the Irish Church obedient to Adrian and to Rome; Adrian took precautions to guard the Irish Church and her rights, against the encroachments of Henry and of England.

§ 97. As the council of Cashel has been pointed to with so much seeming fearlessness, as the foundation upon which the above triple assertion is made to rest for its truth, we must needs take a view of the acts and decrees of that Irish synod. Two of our old writers furnish us with the proceedings of this celebrated council: Roger Hoveden (A.D. 1198) but slightly, and Giraldus Cambrensis (A.D. 1200) at full length, and, as he says, in the very words in which these constitutions were promulgated.

§ 98. Hoveden tells us that, on landing in Ire-

land, Henry was “met at Waterford by the great bulk of the Irish clergy; and here it was that all of them, archbishops as well as bishops, accepted Henry the king of England, and his heirs, as their kings and lords for ever, and confirmed it by their writings.” Afterwards, Henry “transmitted a copy of the writings of all the archbishops and bishops of Ireland to Pope Alexander, who, by the Apostolic authority, confirmed to him and to his heirs the kingdom of Ireland, according to the form of the writings of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 99. From Waterford, Henry “the king of England sent Nicholas the chaplain and Radulf the archdeacon, his clerks, along with the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, unto the city of Cashel, to hold a council concerning the statutes of the

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<sup>1</sup> Et hii omnes tam archiepiscopi quam episcopi receperunt sibi Henricum regem Angliæ, et hæredes suos, in reges et dominos in perpetuum, quod et chartis suis confirmaverunt. Quo facto, rex Angliæ misit Nicholaum, &c. usque ad Cassalensem, civitatem, &c.

... Rex vero Angliæ misit transcriptum chartarum universorum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hybernæ, ad Alexandrum Papam, et ipse autoritate Apostolica confirmavit illi et hæredibus suis regnum Hybernæ, secundum formam chartarum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hybernæ.—ROGERI DE HOVEDEN *Annal. apud* Savile, p. 302.

Church. In this council it was ordained that children should be brought to the church, and there baptized in clean water with three immersions; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and that it should be done by priests, unless the fear of death hindering, made it necessary that it should be done by others, and in other places; and then it might be administered by any one, without exception of sex or order. And that tithes should be paid to the Church for everything that was possessed. And that all lay folk who wished to take a wife, should take her according to ecclesiastical law.”<sup>1</sup>

§ 100. We now come to the more copious recital of Giraldus Cambrensis, who says,—“When the

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<sup>1</sup> Rex Angliæ misit Nicholaum capellanum, et Radulfum archidiaconum de Olaudat, clericos suos, una cum archiepiscopis, et episcopis Hybernæ usque ad Casselensem civitatem, ad celebrandum concilium de statutis ecclesiæ. In concilio autem illo statutum est, ut pueri deferrentur ad ecclesiam, et ibi baptizentur in aqua munda sub trina mersione. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Et hoc a sacerdotibus fiat, nisi metu mortis impediante, ab alio, et alias oportuerit fieri, et tunc a quolibet fiat sine exceptione sexus et ordinis. Et ut decimæ dentur ecclesiis de omnibus quæ possidentur. Et ut omnes laici qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus ecclesiasticum habeant.—ROGERI DE HOVEDEN *Annalium Pars posterior*, apud *Rer. Anglic. Scriptores post Bedam*, ed. Savile, p. 302. Londini, 1596.

island had been hushed by the king's presence, and was enjoying a calm peace, enkindled with a loftier longing to magnify the honour of God's Church, and the worship of Christ in those parts, the king convoked a council of the clergy from the whole of Ireland, at Cashel. Where, having asked for, and heard publicly read that land's and that people's enormities and filthinesses, which had been diligently set down in writing, and under the seal of the legate the bishop of Lismore, who, by his dignity, was above every one else there, it sent forth manifold holy constitutions, which are still extant, on contracting matrimony, giving tithes, frequenting and revering churches with due devotion, trying by every means to bring back again the state of that Church to the form of the English Church. Which constitutions in the self-same words wherein they were published, I have thought not superfluous to put down in this place."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Silente igitur insula in conspectu regis, tranquilla pace gaudente, ecclesiæ Dei decus Christique cultum in partibus illis magnificandi ampliori desiderio rex accensus: totius cleri Hiberniæ concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit. Ubi requisitis et auditis publice terræ illius et gentis tam enormitatibus quam spurcitiis et in scriptum, et sub sigillo legati Lismoriensis, qui cæteris ibidem dignitate tunc præerat, ex industria redactis, constitutiones sacras quæ adhuc extant, de matrimoniis contrahendis, et decimis dandis, et ecclesiis debita devotione venerandis, et frequentandis, quam-*

“In the year<sup>1</sup> of our Lord’s incarnation 1172, and the first year in which the most illustrious king of the English, and the triumpher of Ireland, got that island, Christianus, bishop of Lismore and legate of the Apostolic see, the archbishops Donatus of Cashel, Lawrence of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam, with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbots likewise, and archdeacons, priors, and deans, and many other prelates of the Irish Church, by the command of that triumpher, came together in the city of Cashel; and therein held a council concerning the Church’s weal, and to bring its state into a better form. At this council were present these sent by the king: the worshipful men, Radulf abbot of Buldwase, Radulf archdeacon of

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plures emisit, ecclesiæ illius statum ad Anglicanæ ecclesiæ formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando. Quas constitutiones sub eisdem verbis, quibus et promulgatæ sunt, hic interserere non superfluum reputavi.—S. GIRALDI CAM. *Hib. Expugn. lib. i. c. xxxiii. p. 776, ed. Camdeno. Francof. 1603.*

<sup>1</sup> Anno, igitur, Dominicæ Incarnationis 1172, primo autem anno, quo illustrissimus Anglorum rex et Hiberniæ triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit, Christianus Lismo-riensis episcopus, et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, Donatus Cassiliensis, Laurentius Dubliniensis, et Catholicus Tuamenensis, archiepiscopi cum suffraganeis suis et coepiscopis, abbatibus quoque, archidiaconis, prioribus, et decanis, et multis aliis Hiberniensis ecclesiæ prælatis, ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato in civitate Cassiliensi convenerunt, et



Llandaff, Nicholas the chaplain, and other clerks and messengers of the lord king. The statutes of the council were subscribed and confirmed by the authority of the regal highness. It was ordained:—

“1°. That all the faithful settled throughout Ireland, casting off cohabitation with their kin by blood or affinity, should contract and keep lawful wedlock.

“2°. That infants should be catechized before the church door, and baptized in the holy font in those churches that were baptismal.

“3°. That all the faithful of Christ should pay tithes of animals, crops, and all other produce, to the church of which they were parishioners.

“4°. That all church lands and possessions should

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*de utilitate ecclesiæ, et statu ejus in meliorem formam producendo, ibidem concilium celebrarunt. Huic concilio interfuerunt isti a rege missi; venerabilis vir Radulphus abbas de Buldewas, Radulphus archidiaconus de Landaff, Nicolaus capellanus, et alii clerici, et nuncii domini regis. Concilii autem statuta subscripta sunt, et regię sublimitatis auctoritate firmata. Primo statutum est quod universi fideles per Hiberniam constituti, repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio legitima contrahant matrimonia et observent. Secundo, quod infantes ante fores ecclesiæ catechizentur, et in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus ecclesiis baptizentur. Tertio, quod universi fideles Christi decimas animalium, frugum, cæterarumque proventionum ecclesiæ, cujus fuerint parochiani persolvant. In quarto, quod omnes terræ ecclesiasticæ et earum possessiones ab*

be wholly free from the exaction of all lay folks, and especially that neither the princes, counts, nor any of the powerful men of Ireland, nor their children with their households, should exact, nor violently presume to extort, according to the custom, food and hospitalities in the territories of the Church; and that that detestable food which, four times in the year, is exacted by the neighbouring counts, should not, for any cause, be required in future from the Church's farmsteads.

“5°. That as often as a manslaughter was perpetrated by layfolks, and they compounded for it with their enemies, their kinsmen of the clergy should pay nothing toward it, but as they were guiltless of the perpetration of the manslaughter,

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*omnium secularium hominum exactione penitus sint immunes. Et specialiter, quod nec reguli, nec comites, nec aliqui potentes viri Hiberniæ, nec eorum filii cum familiis suis cibaria et hospitalitates in territoriis ecclesiasticis, secundum consuetudinem, exigant, nec amodo violenter extorquere præsumant; et quod de villis ecclesiarum cibus ille detestabilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de cætero nullatenus exigatur. In quinto, quod homicidio a laicis perpetrato, quoties inde cum suis inimicis componunt, clerici videlicet eorum cognati nihil inde persolvant, sed, sicut in homicidii perpetratione, sic in pecuniæ solutione sint immunes. Sexto, quod universi fideles in infirmitati positi, confessore suo et vicinis astantibus, cum debita sollemnitate testamentum condant, bona sua mobilia,*

so they were to be free from the payment of its money.

“6°. That all the faithful when they fall sick, should, with due solemnity, and their confessor and neighbours standing about them, make their will, &c.

“7°. That for such as die after having made a good confession, the obsequies appointed by the settled custom of burial should be performed in the offering of masses, and watchings. Likewise, that for the future, in all parts of the Church of Ireland, the divine service after the likeness of most holy Church is to be done according to what the Anglican Church observeth.”

§ 101. Be it borne in mind, that in these pas-

dummodo uxores et liberos habeant ære alieno et servientium mercede exceptis in tres partes dividant, unam liberis, alteram uxori legitimæ, tertiam propriis exequiis relinquentes. Et si forte prolem legitimam non habuerint bona ipsa inter ipsam et uxorem in duo media dividantur. Et si legitima uxor decesserit, inter ipsum et liberos bipartiti debent. Septimo, ut cum bona confessione decedentibus et missarum et vigiliarum exhibitione et more sepe liendi obsequium debitum persolvatur. Item, quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus ecclesiæ (Hiberniæ) amodo tractentur.—SILVESTRI GIRALDI CAMBRENSIS *Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. i. c. xxxiii. xxxiv. pp. 776, 777, ed. Camdeno. *Francof.* 1603.

sages from Roger de Hoveden and Giraldus Cambrensis, we have all, positively all, that is, with certainty, known of the council of Cashel; for whatever we read in other authors, is drawn from these two sources. Hoveden and Giraldus had both been employed about the court of Henry II, and, from such a circumstance, were likely to be well acquainted, very often with the motives, always with the movements, of affairs during that reign. Besides this, Giraldus spent some time in Ireland, searching into its history and antiquities; and from an expression which he has let drop, it would seem, that while there, he lighted on an original draught of the acts of the council of Cashel. From his account, it is certain that the canons of it which he has given us, are in the very words in which they were drawn up; and we have no reason for thinking that he has either abridged the substance, or left out any single one of the acts of that synod. Now, let any one turn over and over, nay, search into and sift the original evidence laid before us by the two above-named cotemporary writers, and then, let him, if he can, put his finger upon one tittle of proof in support, not merely of all, but of any, of one single one of these three assertions, so recklessly brought forward at the present time. From first to last of these decrees, no mention whatsoever is made, remotely or indirectly, either of Rome or of the Pope; nor can the

narrowest ground be shown upon which to rest the accusation of any "combined influence or intrigues" having ever been set on foot between the Roman pontiff and the English king, for any purpose; and, least of all, for any new subjection of the Church in Ireland to the obedience of the Apostolic see; nor can one word, one fact, one circumstance be picked out of the history of the synod of Cashel, to afford even the most shadowy suspicion that, "This council put an end to the ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome."

§ 102. But let us take a nearer view of this council and the circumstances in connection with it. The Irish prelates meet Henry at Waterford, and agree to acknowledge him and his heirs as lords and kings of Ireland. This acknowledgment of theirs they declare to him in writing, a copy of which Henry sends to Rome for the Pope's confirmation of his sovereignty over Ireland, and gets it. This act of the Irish bishops was neither done at Cashel, nor has it the slightest connection with the proceedings of the council afterwards held there. It was performed at Waterford, not in a synod of the Irish Church, but in an assembly of distinguished personages, who being churchmen and bishops, no doubt, mourned over the civil wars, domestic broils, and consequent bloodshed of those unhappy times; and, therefore, were na-

turally wishful to see a strong government set up, in the person of a mighty prince who had the power, and signified the wish, to give peace and security to harassed Ireland. What the Irish bishops did at Waterford, was, in truth, a civil, not an ecclesiastical deed; and its ratification some time afterwards by the Pope, had not the slightest connection with doctrine, discipline, and practices of the Church in Ireland. The allegiance given at Waterford, and the decrees sent forth by the council of Cashel, are two things widely differing, and must be kept quite apart one from the other.

§ 103. With respect to Cashel, there was nothing more done than has been done in almost every council of the Church, whether general or provincial, that has ever been assembled. The faults prevailing at the time, and appearing among the clergy in the heedless way in which they sometimes administered the sacraments, or their slovenliness in going through the public service; and among the laity, their carelessness of the rites of the Church, and their breach of some particular commandment, were noticed, blamed, and attempted to be corrected. Just so at Cashel: its decrees were aimed at the evils of that day; and, therefore, we find them forbidding marriages within the prohibited degrees of kindred; insisting on all the ceremonies of baptism being gone through, and in the church if possible; enjoining the people

to pay tithes ; withstanding rich men from oppressing the lands of the Church ; ordering the burial of good christians to be accompanied with the more solemn rites of religion ; teaching the dying to think of wife and child in the distribution of their goods ; shielding the harmless churchman from being drawn into the penalties of his guilty kinsfolks ; and, that the Church in Ireland, in the decorum and devotion with which she went through the divine service, might be like to holy Church all over the world, teaching her to look upon England, and bring herself as near as she could to her, as a model.

§ 104. Such were the decrees of Cashel. But who were they who drew them up ? With the exception of a few dignitaries of the English Church, sent there by Henry, they were all Irishmen ; archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and deans of the Church of Ireland ; headed and presided over, be it particularly remembered, by an Irishman, honoured by the Pope with the dignity of legate, and, as such, recognized by his countrymen, and allowed by them, on all occasions, to occupy the first place, even when archbishops and the primate's self were present,—one in the number of those distinguished Irish bishops, who had been in succession papal legates in Ireland almost a hundred years before the meeting of the council of Cashel. Gilbert of Limerick had been papal

legate in Ireland ; so was St. Malachy, who received that honour when Gilbert resigned it through old age, from the sovereign pontiff himself ; and twenty years before the council of Cashel, Christianus, who presided over it, had appeared as papal legate at Kells, in company with Cardinal Paparo, whom the Pope sent to Ireland with the four new palls.

§ 105. After facts like these, and reading the only true account we have of the canons of Cashel, if a writer—and that writer an Irishman, and, therefore, a man who is presumed to know something of his country's Church-history—say in his “ Views in Ireland,” it was the council of Cashel, presided over, mind, by an Irish prelate who, during twenty years before, had acted as the Pope's legate, and, as such, had been honoured and looked upon with respect by all the Church in Ireland ; if he say it was such a council that “ put an end to the ancient Irish Church, and submitted it to the yoke of Rome ;” the most charitable thing for us to do, is to conclude that such a writer speaks his dreaming, not his waking thoughts.

§ 106. If, however, such-like men would only rid themselves of their dread of phantoms dwelling nowhere but in their own heated imagination ; if they would but gaze full upon the face of history as she really is ; if they would deal with national facts just as they are, then would they soon see that nothing was further from the truth than their



present notions about the council of Cashel. In going over the canons of that synod, instead of meeting with anything either new and strange to Ireland, or set up against the wishes of her prelates, we shall find that they went scarcely further than to re-enact some constitutions agreed upon, years before, in an Irish council;<sup>1</sup> and to embody the feelings which had been springing up among the Irish clergy themselves, for more than half a century ere the foot of one invading Englishman had stood upon the shores of Ireland.

§ 107. Among the synodical decrees of Cashel, if there be any one canon, it is that concerning the liturgy, which, at first sight, looks as if it bore upon itself some warrant, though, it will be acknowledged, of the feeblest kind, for the wrong opinions of those who weep with such loud sobs over the imaginary death and burial of the ancient Church of Ireland at Cashel; and waste the outpourings of so much patriotic indignation upon the supposed religious thralldom to the Pope under

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<sup>1</sup> Profectus inde (Cardinalis) in Hyberniam quatuor pallia certis sedibus distribuit, gentemque in ea legi nuptiarum non assuetam plurimum correxit.—JOHANNES HAGUSTALDENSIS, *apud* Twysden, *Hist. Anglic. Script. t. i. p. 279*. Florebat circa A.D. 1160. But besides these regulations for marriage, the council of Kells enacted the payment of tithes, as appears from the Annals of Cluain-eidneach.

whom they dream that Ireland was, for the first time, there brought by the plotting of Rome and England.

§ 108. But what is this canon through which these would-be patriots are fain to make every Irishman put on deep and everlasting mourning? Here it is:—"that for the future, in all parts of the Church of Ireland, the divine service, after the likeness of most holy Church, is to be done according to what the Anglican Church observeth.—Now with regard to the ceremonial part of the liturgy, it is well known that some of the most illustrious and holiest prelates of Ireland had long seen that there needed a closer agreement and greater exactness in the rituals of their churches; and therefore did they call the attention of the Irish clergy to that question, a long while anterior to the council of Cashel. One of the brightest ornaments, in his days, of the Church in Ireland, was Donald O'Henni,<sup>1</sup> bishop, most likely, of Cashel. His virtues and his learning had won for him a high place in the esteem of his admiring country; and his death was mourned in befitting language

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<sup>1</sup> Donaldus O'Henni præcipuus Anachoreta et venerabilis episcopus, supremus scientia et religione Hibernorum, fons admonitionis occidentalis Europæ, sapiens intelligentia ordinum Romanorum et Hibernorum, terminavit suam bonam vitam, Kal. Decembris.—ANNALES IV. MAGISTRORUM *apud* O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Script. t. iii. p. 671.*

by the annalists of Ireland. From a letter which we have of our Lanfranc (A.D. 1081) to this same Donald,<sup>1</sup> it seems that the Irish bishop had written to the English primate, begging to be told what was the opinion held by the Church, not only in this island, but beyond the seas, about the necessity of administering the Eucharist to babes just baptized, especially if they were weak and like to die. Somewhat about ten years later, A.D. 1090, Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, at the request,—nay, as he expresses it, the command of many among the bishops and priests of Ireland,—drew up and gave to the world a treatise on the canonical custom of saying the hours, and of going through the whole church-service.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of his work, Gilbert strongly recommends his countrymen to do what they afterwards enjoined at Cashel should be done, that is,—be as uniform as possible with the rest of the Church in the ritual for the celebration of divine service, and the administration of the sacraments. Such advice was not thrown away,

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<sup>1</sup> *Epist. LANFRANCI ad Domnaldum Hiberniæ episcopum, apud Usserium Vet. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge, p. 51.*

<sup>2</sup> *Episcopis et presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsulum Gillebertus Lunicensis in Christo salutem.*

Rogatu, necnon et præcepto multorum ex vobis, charissimi, canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis horis et peragendo totius ecclesiastici ordinis officio scribere conatus sum, &c.—*Ibid. p. 54.*

especially upon St. Malachy ; for among the things which lay nearest that truly great man's heart, was the wish to improve the ceremonial part of the liturgy in Ireland. The canon of Cashel on the liturgy, spoke, therefore, nothing more than the wishes and feelings which the Irish Church had been cherishing within her own bosom, and had been more or less acting upon, for the better part of a century before the holding of that council.

§ 109. But let us see what happened when the harvest-time came for reaping the fruits of all this well-spent labour, bestowed during so many years by the most exalted personages of the Irish hierarchy, upon the improvement of the Church-service. A few years before the end of Henry II's reign, A.D. 1189, the good effect wrought by the toils of such men as St. Malachy, strengthened as they were by the sanction which the Irish prelates at Cashel gave them, by working out that saint's principles, were everywhere to be seen throughout Ireland. The English settlers took, indeed, all the merit of such a salutary change, to themselves : the Irish, however, would not, for one moment, allow these English claims ; but, tracing up this blessing to a source years back beyond the coming of the English, assigned all the good to the long and untiring exertions of the native Irish clergy, and the native Irish Church. For this part of our subject, happily, we have an illustration from the

mouth of an unexceptionable witness. This is the monk of Furness, Jocelin, who was living in Ireland not long after the council of Cashel, and compiled from ancient documents a life of St. Patrick, about A.D. 1181. In that work, Jocelin gives the following description of a vision concerning the future state of the Church in Ireland, with which its great apostle, it is said, was favoured by Almighty God.

§ 110. "Patrick, the man of God," says Jocelin, "earnestly longed and steadfastly besought to be made acquainted with the present and future state of Ireland. The Lord vouchsafed his heart's cravings, and in a very bright revelation showed to his eyes what he begged for. Bowed down in prayer, the inmost recesses of his soul became widened, and he saw the whole of Ireland become as it were on fire, and a flame reaching up to heaven, and he heard God's angel plainly saying to him, 'Such is Ireland now before the eyes of the Lord.' After a short interval, at all the ends of the island he saw

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<sup>1</sup> Vir Dei (Patricius) desiderabat attentius, et deprecabatur instantius, super statu Hiberniæ præsentis et futuro certiorari—desiderium autem cordis ejus exaudivit Dominus, et quod petebat præclara revelatione manifestavit oculis ejus. Constitutus enim in oratione, laxato sinu mentis, vidit totam Hiberniam velut igneam esse, flammamque usque cælum extendentem; audivitque Angelum Dei manifeste sibi dicentem; Talis est Hibernia in præsentis

as it were fiery mountains upstretching to the sky. When there had been a slight pause, he beheld as it were candlesticks glistening; and, somewhat later, as the dimness grew thicker, little lamps; and, at last, a few coals all over ashes, live however, and showing themselves in hidden places. By the angelic voice it was observed, that, in times to come, the people of Ireland would be in the different states so expressed. Then said the angel, 'Look to the northern part, and thou shalt see a changing of the right hand of the Most High:' and the darkness was scattered before the face of the forthcoming light. The saint, therefore, raised his eyes, and behold, he saw a light, at first small, arising in Ulster, and struggling a long while with the darkness, at length put it to flight, and illumin-

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coram oculis Domini. Facto denique parvo intervallo, contemplatus est in omnibus finibus insulae montes velut igneos ad æthera usque porrectos. Postmodum interiecta modica morula pluribus in locis intuebatur quasi candelabra lucere, et paulo post invalescente caligine, lucernas exiguas, ac demum carbones raros incineratos, vivos tamen in abditis apparere. Subjungitur etiam Angelica voce; quod futuris temporibus in statibus diversis taliter expressis, essent gentes Hiberniæ.—Et Angelus; Respice ad aquilonarem plagam, et videbis mutationem dexteræ Excelsi tenebrasque dispergendas a facie luminis adventuri. Levavit igitur oculos Sanctus, et ecce vidit modicam prius lucem in Ulidia exorientem diu cum tenebris concertare,

ated the whole island with its brightness. Nor did that light stop growing larger and becoming stronger until it seemed to bring back Ireland to its fiery state.

“The Irish think the time of darkness was when those Norwegian pagan princes, Gurmundus first, and afterwards, Turgesius, reigned over conquered Ireland; for, in those days, the saints, like coals overspread with ashes, lay hiding in caves and holes in the rocks, from the view of the wicked, who, all day long, put them to death like sheep of the slaughter; and hence it came to pass that various rites against the ecclesiastical institutes in Ireland, were brought in, and new observances made by holy Church’s prelates ignorant of the divine law, against the form of the same. But the light

tandem iisdem effugatis suo fulgore totam insulam illustrare. Nec cessavit lux illa crescere et invalescere, donec videretur ad primum statum igneum Hiberniam reducere.

Tempus autem tenebrarum Hibernici illud autumant, quo prius Gurmundus ac postea Turgesius Norvagienses principes pagani in Hibernia debellata regnabant: in illis enim diebus, sancti in cavernis et speluncis, quasi carbonibus cineribus cooperti latitabant a facie impiorum, qui eos tota die quasi oves occisionis mortificabant. Ex qua re accidit ut varii ritus contra ecclesiastica instituta in Hibernia adducerentur, et a praelatis sanctæ ecclesiæ divinæ legis ignaris contra formam ejusdem nova sacramenta conficerentur. Lucem, vero, prius ex aquilonari parte exori-

arising at first out of the north, and driving away the darkness after a long struggle, the Irish people assert was St. Malachy, who, at first, was over the Church of Down, and afterwards over the metropolitan one of Armagh, and brought back Ireland to the state of the Christian law. On the other hand, the English think, that the light is to be ascribed to their coming, because then it was that, in their judgment, it seemed the Church was brought into a better condition, religion was planted and propagated, and the ecclesiastical observances, and the institutions of the Christian law, were fulfilled with a more befitting rite. I, however, neither bring, in nor break the rope of contention among them; but I think the discussion and determination of this thing, ought to be left to the divine judgment."

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entem, et licet diutino conflictu tenebras exterminantem, Hibernigenæ S. Malachiam asserunt; qui prius in Dunensi ecclesia, postmodum in Ardmachana metropoli præfuit, et Hiberniam ad Christianæ legis statum reduxit. E contra Anglici lucem illam arbitrantur adscribendam suo adventui eo quod tunc ecclesia videbatur suo iudicio in meliorem statum provehi; religio plantari ac propagari, atque sacramenta ecclesiastica, et Christianæ legis instituta ritu competentiori observari. Ego verò funem contentiosum inter eos nec porto, nec dirimo; sed huius rei discussionem atque definitionem divino iudicio relinquendum censeo.—  
*Vita S. PATRICII auctore Jocelino. Act. SS. Martii, tom. ii. pp. 575, 576.*



§ 111. Whether or no Almighty God chose to bless St. Patrick with such a revelation, is not now the question before us; but our business is with two well-grounded facts in the history of the ancient Church of Ireland. The Irish had heard, and believed what they heard, of St. Patrick's revelation; and, in the second place, put such an interpretation upon it, as to show that it was their belief that the reform in the ceremonies of the ritual and liturgy, was the work of St. Malachy, and not of the English. Nay, they stoutly denied that the coming of the English to Ireland had anything to do with the favourable change to be seen there, towards the close of the twelfth century. Now, the canon of Cashel about the ceremonial of the liturgy, affords the only ground upon which those may rest their opinion concerning what they are pleased to call the "yoke" of Rome put on the Irish Church: but from this little spot of ground, narrow and weak as it is for building upon it such a weighty and important opinion, are these men driven by the Irish themselves, in the meaning the ancient Irish Church gave of the above-mentioned revelation of St. Patrick. Had it been that the Irish who lived at the time of the council of Cashel, fostering as they did such a love for their native Church, took the same view of the question as is taken at this day by Protestants, how could it have happened that they claimed the glory of

the change for one of their own countrymen, and denied any part of it to the English? How is it that instead of looking upon this change as a matter of national mourning, they rejoiced in it as a thing of national triumph and congratulation? How is it, too, that neither Hoveden, Giraldus Cambrensis, nor Jocelin, nor any ancient writer, makes mention of, nor hints at the lamentations of the native Irish, on the supposed degradation and enthrallment of their beloved Church; and by what mysterious process can it be, that writers living in the nineteenth century have been made acquainted with a fact that was utterly unknown and unsuspected by those who lived at the time, ages ago, and from whom alone any knowledge of such a fact must have come down to us? It is only Truth who can unravel all these difficulties; and she does so while holding up to our view the history of the early Church in Ireland, she shows from facts, and not surmises: that the Pope's supremacy was, all through seven long centuries before the council of Cashel, just as much acknowledged by the Irish, as it ever has been since: that nothing new was ordained at that synod: and that it was neither Pope nor king, but the Irish prelates themselves, who reformed their liturgy, even years before a council ever sat at Cashel.

§ 112. I have now brought this part of the subject to an end. The other, on the belief and

practices of the early Irish Church, is so very interesting, that it claims, and shall have, a separate notice, which I hope, by God's blessing, to be able to submit to your perusal very shortly.

§ 113. Before we part, however, allow me, my lord, to call your attention to the objects most worthy of notice, that we met with as we travelled over this very interesting question. I took upon myself to tell your lordship, most respectfully, that you were wrong in the ideas you had framed in your own mind concerning the belief and practices of the early Church in Ireland, especially so with regard to the question of the papal supremacy; and I assured you, if you would go along with me through the documents of antiquity, you would soon arrive at other and more correct notions on all these points. Now, what did we meet, the first step we took at starting on the road of this enquiry? The important fact, that "the Irish Church was founded by a Pope," whose name was Celestine, and who employed for that glorious work those holy men St. Palladius and St. Patrick. Moving a little further on the same path, another great fact caught our eyes; and we saw—"The Irish Church, who received her first bishop from Rome, not only always acknowledging, but yielding obedience to, the papal supremacy." Here it was that we became acquainted with that illustrious Irish monk St. Columbanus; who, when we asked him if he.

and his countrymen believed in the Pope's supremacy, seemed to exhaust all the powers of language, and to put forth all his strength, for the purpose of deeply impressing on our minds, his own and his country's most hearty assent to this article of Catholic faith. If less warm, the words uttered by St. Cummin were not less strong in expressing the same Catholic truth on behalf of Ireland. Then we witnessed how, on the Easter question, "The Popes claimed and exercised, without being gainsaid, their spiritual supremacy over the early Church in Ireland." But as we were wending forwards on our way, we overtook missionary after missionary—all Irish, or bred, at least, from their childhood, under Irishmen, or in Ireland, and, therefore, Irish in their feelings and learning—quickenings their pace onwards to Rome, "to do homage to the Pope, and crave his apostolic leave and blessing, before they went and preached to the heathen." SS. Kilian and Willibrord were among these messengers of glad tidings. We lighted, too, upon our own far-famed countryman Alcuin; who was so full of praises of Irish faith and Irish learning, and who spoke out so unequivocally in favour of the papal supremacy. But besides Irish apostolic missionaries, we met with Irish pilgrims—bishops, abbots, churchmen of all degrees—all hurrying to get the papal blessing; but some drawn by ecclesiastical business, as well as devotion, to the holy

see. Here it was, we could not help crying out aloud that, besides paying obedience to the papal supremacy, “the early Church in Ireland, from its very beginning, has been closely united with the Pope.” Furthermore, when we turned our footsteps in another direction, we saw Irish bishops, Irish kings and princes, not merely uniting themselves by friendship, but putting themselves under canonical obedience to such men as Lanfranc and St. Anselm; and asking these celebrated archbishops of Canterbury, because they acknowledged them to be invested with the delegated authority of the Roman see, to act for them and Ireland in certain grave matters. Soon afterwards, we found a Pope’s legate living constantly in the Irish Church, and that such a high office was successively occupied by Gilbert of Limerick, St. Malachy of Armagh, and Christianus of Lismore. But to have the fulness of honour, the Irish Church asked and obtained of the Popes the privilege of the pall for her archbishops, who were invested with this ornament of dignity, by the hands of a Roman cardinal sent for that especial purpose by the Pope, to Ireland; and that all this took place many years before Henry II went to Ireland, or the council of Cashel was held.

§ 114. With these circumstances before you, I shall be much mistaken if your lordship does not now quite agree with me in saying, that “if there

be one fact in Irish history more clear than another, it is that the Roman Catholic Church was always the Church of the Irish people, and originally; that Church was always bound to Rome; and just as much before, as after an English king conquered Ireland, was the supremacy of the Pope acknowledged by it."

§ 115. But there is another circumstance which I much wish to fasten on your lordship's mind; and it is, that for everything I have said, I have leant, not upon doubtful modern hearsay, but ancient unimpeachable authority,—upon the words of witnesses every one of whom wrote before the reign of Henry II, three only excepted, Roger de Hoveden, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Jocelin; and these three were that prince's cotemporaries.

§ 116. At taking leave, for the present, I cannot deny myself the gratification of telling your lordship, there is one remark of Mr. O'Driscoll's, quoted in your speech, in which I most heartily agree. That gentleman says—and so do I—"From the days of St. Patrick to the council of Cashel, was a bright and glorious career for Ireland." Yes, early Christian Ireland is justly famed for the number of its saints, for its holiness, its learning, for those crowds of good men whom it sent unto strange lands to preach the gospel; but it is rightly famed for something more than this,—it is celebrated for its warm and undying love and obedi-

ence to the chair of Peter—the apostolic see. To Rome it was that St. Patrick wished all questions of difficulty to be carried for solution; Rome it was that St. Columbanus and St. Cummian looked upon, and loved as their mother; to Rome it was that Irish missionaries first hurried, to crave the leave and the blessing of the Pope, before they went to convert the unbeliever; and, ages before the council of Cashel, Irishmen emphatically called

ROME THE HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCHES.

This do I, this do all Catholics believe, in the nineteenth, as warmly and as heartily as the Irish did in the fifth and every following century.

With sentiments of deep respect, I have the honour of subscribing myself

Your Lordship's

Humble obedient servant,

DANIEL ROCK.

*Priest's House,*

*Buckland, Berks.*

*Ash Wednesday, 1844.*





## APPENDIX.

### No. I.

IF it be asked what country has a right to the glory of being the mother-land of the great apostle of Ireland, the true answer to such a question is,

ST. PATRICK *was born in* GREAT BRITAIN.

The spot so honoured is still pointed out by a venerable tradition as Kill-Patrick, in the neighbourhood of Dunbarton, or as it was once called Dunbriton,<sup>1</sup> the ancient Alcluith, which, St. Beda<sup>2</sup> says, was in his time, “the strongest city of the Britons;” who, however, were driven to yield up this stronghold, after an attack upon it by the united forces of the Picts and Anglo-Saxons,<sup>3</sup> shortly after the death of that sainted historian.

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<sup>1</sup> Oppidum Nempthor, mari Hibernico collimitans, *cap. i.* Erat autem in quodam promontorio super eminenti præfato oppido Nempthor munitio quædam extructa cuius adhuc murorum apparent ruinosæ vestigiæ, *cap. i.* Est autem locus celebris in valle Clud situs lingua gentis illius Dunbreatan, id est mons Britonum nuncupatus.—*Vita S. PATRICII auct. Jocelino. Act. SS. apud Bolland. mense Martii, tom. ii. pp. 540, 542.*

<sup>2</sup> Civitas Brittonum munitissima usque hodie (A.D. 731) quæ vocatur Alcluith.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. i. p. 12, ed. Stevenson.*

<sup>3</sup> Anno 756. Eadbert rex decimo quinto anno regni sui, et Unnust rex Pictorum duxerunt exercitum ad urbem Alclutit,

From those two short writings, "The Confession"<sup>1</sup> and "The Letter to Coroticus,"<sup>2</sup> deemed by the ablest critics to be the genuine production of Ireland's apostle, we gather that St. Patrick himself reckoned the insular Britons his countrymen; called Britain his native land; and looked upon it as his home, and the dwelling-place of his kindred; distinguishing it very broadly from Gaul or

ibique Brittones inde conditionem receperunt prima die mensis Augusti.—ROGERI DE HOVEDEN *Annal. apud Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 231, *Londini*, 1596.

<sup>1</sup> Unde autem [possem] etsi voluero dimittere illas et pergere in Britannias; etsi libentissime paratus irem quasi ad patriam et parentes; et non id solum, sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitarem fratres meos ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei, &c.—*Confessio B. PATRICII apud Acta SS. Bolland. tom. ii. Martii*, p. 537.

Iterum post paucos annos in Britannia eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium exceperunt, et ex fide rogaverunt me, ut vel modo post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli, nunquam ab illis discederem.—*Ibid.* p. 535, in Britanniiis eram, &c. *Aliud exemplar apud O'Connor, Rer. Hib. Script. tom. i. p. cxi-Proleg. i.*

<sup>2</sup> Et manu mea scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda ac tradenda militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico civibus meis atque civibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed civibus dæmoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum, &c.

Ingenuus fui secundum carnem, Decurione patre nascor. Vendidi enim nobilitatem meam. Non erubesco, neque me pœnitet pro utilitate aliorum. Denique servus sum in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, etsi mei me non cognoscunt. Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet.—S. PATRICII *Epistola ad Coroticum apud O'Connor, Rer. Hibern. Script. tom. i. p. cxvii. Proleg. i.*

modern France. For, otherwise, how could St. Patrick, in a letter to a British prince—for such was Coroticus—have called that chief's subjects his fellow-citizens, and distinguished them from the Romans settled in Britain, if he were not well known to the world to be a born Briton? or how could he, with any truth, apply to his own person that saying out of holy writ—"A prophet is not without honour save in his own country and in his own house" (S. Matt. xiii. 57), unless Coroticus and every one else were fully aware that Britain was the holy man's birth-place?

Not long after the death of St. Patrick, was written in his honour the hymn which goes under Fiech's name: but whoever wrote it, as well as its very ancient commentator, assign the British city Alcluith, under the poetical name of Nemthur,<sup>1</sup> as the birth-place of the saint; and glancing at his travels on the continent, point out Armorica as a land which he had to reach by sea;<sup>2</sup> which could not be

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<sup>1</sup> "Natus est Patricius Nemturri," for so Dr. O'Connor translates the old and original Irish—Genair Patraic i Nemthur. *Carmen vetus Hibernicum Fieci apud O'Connor Rer. Hib. Script. t. i. p. xc. Proleg. i.* Neam-thur Hibernica vox est quæ *cælestem*, sive *altam turrin* denotat, aliter Hibernice dictam *Al-cluid*, rupes Cluidensis, hodie *Dunbarton*. Vetus scholiastes hujus carminis, qui *Neam-thur* et *Alcluid* unam et eandem civitatem esse declarat, uti et Jocelinus, et Evinus. *Ibid. p. xcvi.*

<sup>2</sup> Profectus est (Patricius) trans Alpes omnes,  
Trans maria, fuit fælix expeditio,  
Et remansit apud Germanum,  
In Australi parte Australis Lethaniæ.

*Carmen Fieci. Strop. 5. Ibid. p. xci.* Lethaniam appellabant Hiberni non modo Armoricam, sed et occidentalem Galliam. *Ibid. in notis.*

true, nor would have been so noticed in the hymn, had St. Patrick been born in any part of Gaul.

Probus, a writer of the ninth century, not only fully and clearly tells us Great Britain was the land that saw the birth of St. Patrick;<sup>1</sup> but adds a curious incident, which cannot be accounted for except by the fact of the saint's being born a Briton, and, therefore, when dead, was thought by his countrymen to belong, of right, to Britain and themselves. Scarcely had St. Patrick breathed his last, when the inhabitants of Ulster were threatened with a war by the people in that part of Britain lying over against them.<sup>2</sup> More than once the Britons mustered

<sup>1</sup> Sanctus Patricius, qui et Sochet vocabatur, Brito fuit natione. Hic in Britanniis natus est—de vico Bannauæ, Tyburniæ regionis haud procul a mari occidentali, quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse Neutriæ provinciæ. Probus *in vita* S. PATRICII *inter opera* Bedæ, t. iii. p. 311. No doubt Probus meant by Neutria *Nemthur*, the Irish name for Aleluid. Probus or his transcribers, perhaps both, made sad work with proper names, as may be seen at p. 322 above, where the same youth is called, within very few lines, Beneneus and Benignus.

<sup>2</sup> In tempore transitus sanctissimi patris nostri Patricii, dira quædam belli contentio inter Orientales Britanniae populos ex parte una, et inter Ultanos ex altera parte orta est de tollendo corpore ejusdem sanctissimi viri in loco qui collum bovis nominatur: sed meritis beati Patricii, et misericordia Dei, ne sanguis effunderetur Christianorum, seditio ilico sedata est. Condicto enim bellorum die, intumescebant untra modum fluctus maris, quod erat inter insulanos istos, prohibentes naves bellicas, ne ad invicem convenire ullatenus potuissent. Alio autem tempore cum quievisset maria, surrexerunt iterum Orientales contra Ultanos populos, et acriter ad certamen irruerunt, ac certatim armati in bellum hostili impetu, ad locum beati corporis proru-

a fleet, to sail across to Ulster and carry off the body of Saint Patrick, and they were only hindered from trying to do so, on one of the occasions, by the sudden roughness of the weather; and, the second time, by the intervention of Providence.

In the twelfth century, Jocelin the monk of Furness made a wide search, and found much in Ireland written about St. Patrick, From this heap of native documents, he drew up a life of the saint, in which he tells us, in words as plain and unequivocal as those employed by his forerunner in the same task, Probus, that St. Patrick was born, and stolen from his home, in this island of Britain.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, every old writer who has ever touched this point, has always said so;<sup>2</sup> and what was thus uttered by an-

perunt, sed felici mirabiliter sunt fallacia seducti. PROBUS, *ibid.* p. 334. Probus call the Britons "Orientales" naturally enough, as they lay to the east of Ireland; but, at the same time, he terms both the British and Irish "insulani," or islanders, which would not have been true of any of the people of Armorica, or Bretagne.

<sup>1</sup> Exstitit vir quidam, Calphurnius nomine, filius Potiti presbyteri, Brito natione, in pago, Taburnia vocabulo (hoc est tabernaculorum campo; eò quòd Romanus exercitus tabernacula fixerit ibidem) secus oppidum Nempthor degens, mari Hibernico collimitans habitatione. Hic duxerat in matrimonium puellam Francigenam—De Galliis namque abductam cum sorore priore natu ad Aquilonales partes Britannia.—Generando protulerunt filium: quem—nominari fecere Patricium.—*Vita S. PATRICII a Jocelino, Act. SS. tom. ii. Martii, p. 540.* Nutriebatur nemp in Nempthor oppido puer Domini Patricius.—*Ibid. p. 541.* Natale solum Britannia.—*Ibid. p. 544.*

Istam Patricius sanctus sibi vindicat aulam

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tiquity, has been re-echoed by the shrewdest critics of modern times.<sup>1</sup> Following some late French writers, who have tried in every possible way to twist the name of the place, St. Patrick says his father lived at, “Banauen Taberniæ,” into “Bononia, now Boulogne, in the district of Tarvanna, or Tarvenna, alias Tarabanna, a celebrated city not far from Boulogne, the ruins of which still remain under the modern name of Terouanne.” Dr. Lanigan,<sup>2</sup> and, after him, Mr. Moore,<sup>3</sup> pronounce Boulogne-sur-mer to have been the birth-place of the saint.

Such a new opinion, however, is not only gainsaid by all antiquity, and contradicted by the testimonies which we have just heard; but calls up difficulties from which it cannot, by any ingenuity, disentangle itself.

1°. Banauen Taberniæ is a place unknown and unheard of in any part of Gaul; nor has such a town been ever spoken of by any writer, whether French, or foreign, as at any time having existed in that country.

Calpurnus genuit, istum alma Britannia misit,  
Gallia nutrit, tenet ossaque Scottia felix.

*Versus* BEDÆ in oratorio S. Patricii apud LELANDUM *Collectanea*, t. ii. p. 114, *Londini*, 1774.

Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius, primus episcopus missus est. Post ipsum S. Patricius. Fuit genere Brito, et a S. Celestino Papa consecratus, &c.—MARIANUS SCOTUS, *Chron. Basil.* 1559, *ad annum* 432.

<sup>1</sup> The Bollandists, *Act. SS. t. ii. Martii*, p. 517. Saint Patrice est né Breton, selon tous les auteurs qui ont écrit sa vie, quoique la province où il a reçu le jour soit depuis tombée sous la domination des Ecossais.—LOBINEAU, *Les Vies des Saints de Bretagne*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 211, in a note.

2°. The name of Britain was not given to any part of Gaul until years after not only the birth of St. Patrick, but his mission to Ireland.

3°. At no period of history was the present Boulogne included within that portion of Gaul called by the name of Britain after it was seized by the insular Britons who fled from the Anglo-Saxons.

4°. It is much to be doubted if Boulogne was ever comprehended within even the province of Armorica properly so designated.

But there are other facts which, by themselves, set the question at rest; and show that insular, not Gaulish, Britain was the mother-land of St. Patrick. That saint himself tells<sup>1</sup> us that he was led into bondage along with so many thousands of people; and that after he got away from his master to return home, he came to the Boyne, and having found a ship, he set sail, and on the third day made the land, where he and the ship's crew, all of whom were heathens, wandered about a wilderness twenty-seven days, without any other food but what they could find; and that it was a fortnight before they met a living being.

That the Irish ever carried off into bondage any of the inhabitants of Gaul or ancient France, we are not told by

<sup>1</sup> Hyberione adductus sum (Patricius) in captivitate cum tot millibus hominum.—*Confessio* B. PATRICII. *Apud Acta SS.* Bolland. tom. ii. *Martii*, p. 533.

Veni ad Benum—In illa die debui surgere in navem eorum propter Deum—gentiles erant.—Et post triduum terram cepimus et viginti et septem dies per desertum iter fecimus.—*Ibid.* pp. 534, 535.—Donec quarto decimo die pervenimus ad homines. *Aliud exemplar*, *apud O'Connor, Rer. Hibern. Script.* tom. i. p. cxi. *Proleg.* i.

any historian. If, however, they had not merely done this in a small way, but dragged whole thousands from their native shores, and sailed off with them to Ireland, surely some one or other of the French chroniclers would have put so great a national calamity on record. But the annals of France, as well as those of Ireland, are dumb upon the subject. Not so, however, with regard to Britain. Gildas,<sup>1</sup> the earliest of our national historians, loudly bewailed the harassing warfare and the inroads of the Irish united with the Picts, upon the Britons, whose youthful warriors were lured from their island home by Maximus, when that leader crossed over to Gaul, and tried to fight his way to the imperial throne of Rome. None of them came back; and thus weakened by such a drain upon her national strength, Britain became too feeble to scare away the pirate from her shore, or drive the plunderer from her fields. Her children fell an easy prey to every invader.

Now it is a curious fact that the Irish annalists are particular in letting us know it was exactly about this sad time that the coast of Britain nearest to Ireland, was

<sup>1</sup> Insula (Britannia)—germen suæ plantationis amarissimæ ad Gallias magna comitante satellitum caterva, insuper etiam imperatoris insignibus—Maximum mittit.

Exin Britannia, omni armato milite, militaribusque copiis, rectoribus linquitur immanibus, ingenti juventute spoliata, quæ comitata vestigiis supradicti tyranni domum nunquam ultra rediit, et omnis belli usu ignara penitus duabus primum gentibus transmarinis vehementer sævis, Scotorum a circione, Pictorum ab aquilone calcabilis multos stupet gemetque per annos.—GILDAS *de Excidio Britannicæ*, ed. Stevenson, *Londini*, 1838, pp. 19, 20.



swept by Irish pirates, who plundered the country, and carried away crowds of the helpless Britons into slavery. Among the Irish chiefs who rendered themselves more notorious than others, at this period, in such a frightful warfare, we are told, was King Nial,<sup>1</sup> who caught and made slaves of thousands of the inhabitants of this island in the year A.D. 388, which exactly corresponds with the epoch of St. Patrick's first captivity.

Again, in which of the two neighbourhoods,—in that of the ancient Alcluith, or in that of Gessoriacum, the present Boulogne, was it more likely that in the beginning of the fifth century a wilderness might have been found so wide, and so thoroughly forlorn, that after wandering about it for a fortnight, not a human creature could be met with?—surely nigh Alcluith. Though sometimes frightened by the Saxon pirates and sea-rovers from the north, still the western coast of Gaul was thickly peopled and studded with large and wealthy towns. Gessoriacum, the Boulogne of the present day, was the great and much frequented thoroughfare between the continent and Britain; and was a stranger to the hourly dread of beholding a ruthless and untiring enemy suddenly start up at a stone's throw from its very gates. Not so Alcluith. That town, built on a lofty bold rock, standing where the river Clyde falls into the firth to which it gives its name, formed

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<sup>1</sup> Captus est (S. Patricius) nempe a classe Hibernica Britanniam vastante, anno 388, regnante *Niallo* Magno, ut jam antea indicavi.—O'CONNOR, *Rer. Hib. Script. t. i. p. cviii. Proleg. i. in notis.*

A.D. 388. Ipse quidem S. Patricius venditur ad regem nomine Miluc, filium nepotis Buani in Aquilonare Hiberniæ.—FLORENTIUS WIGORN. p. 536. *Francof.* 1601.

one end of a high wall stretching from sea to sea across the island, and thrown up by the Roman legions to shut out the fell and pitiless Irish and Picts, who so often banded together to rob and burn the country, and carry off the persons of the Britons. It needs no high flight of imagination for us to think that the country lying beyond Alcluith to the north, was, for many a dreary mile, one barren unpeopled waste, on the wrong side of the wall, for the Britons either to cultivate or inhabit in safety, and too near one of the strongest fastnesses held in the whole island by those Britons, for the Picts, or Irish to choose it as a dwelling-place.

Nothing was more natural than that vessels should be easily found plying between the mouth of the Boyne on the eastern coast of Ireland, and the opposite shores of Britain, when as Beda<sup>1</sup> tells us, a colony of Irish had settled itself under the leadership of Reuda, and at the time that saint wrote still existed under the name of Dal-reudini, and held a tract of country along the northern line of that inlet of the sea on which stood Alcluith, the

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<sup>1</sup> *Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, post Brittones et Pictos, tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt; a quo videlicet duce usque hodie Dalreudini vocantur.—Hæc (Hibernia) autem proprie patria Scottorum est.—Est autem sinus maris permaximus, qui antiquitus gentem Brittonum a Pictis secernebat, qui ab occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est civitas Brittonum munitissima usque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith, ad cujus videlicet sinus partem septentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus, advenientes sibi locum patriæ fecerunt.—BEDA, *Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. i. pp. 11, 12, ed. Stevenson.* Beda wrote his Ecclesiastical History somewhere about the year 731.*

strongest city belonging to the Britons. On the other hand, nothing was so unlikely to be met with as a vessel sailing from such a part of Ireland to a port so far away as Boulogne, and, even in this age of wide trade, and constant intercourse, so unfrequented by the merchant-craft of Ireland.

Between the mouth of the Boyne and the coast near Dunbarton, three days would be looked upon, at present, as a fair passage for an ordinary trader; but it may well be doubted, if a common merchantman, helped as it is by all the aids which science has given to nautical knowledge, would reach Boulogne in three days' time from the Boyne, or any other part of the north-eastern shores of Ireland. Moreover, it is not at all likely that any master of a ship would have been so far thoughtless as to have set sail upon a voyage in which weeks might have been spent, with a stock of provisions on board, hardly enough for himself and men over three days.

By trusting with entire confidence to the oft-repeated declaration of St. Patrick himself, and the unanimous voice of all those who have at different times written that saint's life, we find that we are not beset with those difficulties over which they who follow the new and French opinion, are seen to stumble at every step they take. While, however, we bear in mind with becoming thankfulness, that our island of Britain was favoured by Divine Providence with the happiness of having been the motherland of the apostle of the Irish people, let that remembrance only quicken us the more to ask that glorious countryman of ours, St. Patrick, now in heaven, to beseech the Almighty to look down upon this land of his birth, as well as upon that land of his adoption; and to make Christ's One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church, to become in our dear Britain what it is in Ireland—the Church, not of the thousands, but the millions of her people.

## APPENDIX II.

*On the Easter Question.*

St. Polycarpe, and, along with him, the bishops of Asia Minor, kept Easter on the fourteenth moon of the first month; not heeding what day of the week it might chance to fall upon. The Popes, and with them, the rest of the Christian world, observed this great feast, on the Sunday next following the fourteenth moon of the first month, or the full moon after the vernal equinox; rightly guarding themselves against holding the Christian pasch on the same day as the Hebrew passover was solemnized, as they did from hallowing the Sabbath, along with the Jews, on the seventh, instead of the first day of the week. So strong, indeed, was the feeling on the paschal solemnity, at a very early period in the ancient Church, that those who kept Easter the same day with the Jews, though such a thing was a point of mere discipline, were looked upon as schismatics and heretics, and called Quartodecimans; as we learn from St. Aldhelm,<sup>1</sup> a father of our Anglo-Saxon Church, who brings forward as his voucher the great St. Austin of Hippo.

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<sup>1</sup> Erat namque genus quoddam hæreticorum apud Orientales, quod *Tessarescæ decatitæ* vocatur, id est, *Quarta decimani*, eo quod quarta decima luna cum Judæis Christum blasphemantibus, et margaritas Evangelii ritu porcorum calcantibus, Paschæ solennitatem peragunt, et ob hoc alieni à beata orthodoxorum sodalitate inter schismaticorum conciliabula infeliciter reputantur, quos B. Augustinum in libro de nonaginta hæresibus scripto commemorasse memini. *Epist. ALTHELMi ad Geruntium, Bib. Pat. t. viii. p. 85. ed. Binio, Colon. Agrip. 1618.*

Along with their Christianity, the Britons received from Rome the way of keeping Easter, as well as the cycle for finding that festival, then followed by the Roman pontiff Eleutherius ; and never joined with the Asiatics in hallowing the paschal feast, like the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, but always sanctified that solemnity, like the rest of the Christian world, on the Sunday following.

For the finding of Easter Sunday, calculations were drawn up, and called cycles, or circles, from including a set revolving number of years. But, after a time, these were found to be inaccurate, and required revision. On this account, it was settled that as Egypt was celebrated for its skill in astronomy, and knowledge of mathematics, but more especially the school of Alexandria, the bishop of that city should take care to get, every year, the time for keeping Easter rightly calculated, and report the precise Sunday fixed upon for the forthcoming paschal feast, to the bishop of Rome, so that he might have time to write to all the Churches, and tell them the exact day.

Many circumstances, however, ere long, hindered this plan from being kept up with all the regularity so needful in a matter of this importance. Recourse was, therefore, again had to the use of cycles. Though several individuals applied their talents to the construction of these tables, still they were usually framed for one or other of these two lengths of time—of the period called the Roman, including eighty-four years, or of the Alexandrine, of nineteen years. The Britons, of course, adopted the Roman cycle, as they were made Christians by a bishop of Rome, Pope Eleutherius. For a like reason, St. Patrick introduced into Ireland the cycle which he had seen kept at Rome. Hence it was that, having got their Paschal tables from the same

place—from Rome—the Britons and the Irish perfectly agreed in the time of keeping Easter.

But, some time after St. Patrick's mission to Ireland,<sup>1</sup> Rome being wishful to become as correct as possible in her Paschal calculations, deemed it best to lay aside her cycle of eighty-four years, and adopt the one of Alexandria, containing a period of nineteen years. Owing to such a change, of which the Britons and Irish were not aware, as well as to the difficulty felt by the Popes, through the disturbed state of the times, of readily communicating, at regular periods, with the more distant portions of the Church, especially with islands almost cut off from the world, like Britain and Ireland, it is not to be wondered at that St. Augustin found the Britons differing from Rome, and actually wrong in the time for keeping Easter, since more polished and more learned people, enjoying greater facilities of correct information, had gone astray upon this astronomical point; and when Milan, and the other cities of Italy itself, in later ages, have sometimes differed with Rome in fixing on the Sunday proper for the Paschal celebration.

Some Protestants there are, who, for want of anything

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<sup>1</sup> Ut autem lunaticæ hujus controversiæ, quæ nostros tantopere exercuit, origo rectius intelligatur: notandum est aliam cyclorum Paschalium rationem Romæ fuisse observatam quum in Hiberniam venit Patricius; aliam quum Alexandrinorum cyclum decemnovennalem, a Dionysio Exiguo explicatum Romani pontifices demum admiserunt. Prioribus enim illis temporibus Romæ LXXXIV, annorum receptam fuisse periodem, ab anno æræ Christianæ cccLXXXII, dinumeratam, ex Paschasini Lilybetani ad Leonem I. epistola. USSERUIS, *Britan. Eccles. Antiquit.* p. 480. *Londini*, 1687.

stronger, are fain to pick up straws, and cast them at the Catholic Church; and, therefore, say, that one of the arguments shewing the ancient British Christians were not taught their belief by Rome, but by missionaries from the East, is the difference of the Britons from Rome in the time of keeping Easter. I say some Protestants; for the better informed of that body, at once allow that this is a most egregious mistake. It is well known, that Constantine the Great (an early as well as one of the best vouchers for the fact, as he was born, bred, and had spent much of his youth in this island), testified, in his letter to the Council of Nice,<sup>1</sup> that, then, the British agreed with the Roman Church about the time for solemnizing the Paschal festival. To this testimony, put on record by the first Christian emperor, may be added the still stronger attestation of the British Church herself. Ten years, at least, before the Council of Nice was summoned, our ancient British Church declared, through the lips of those of her prelates who occupied her most distinguished sees, her love and her reverence for the Pope, holding, as she proclaimed she did, the same belief as that of the see of Peter, and professing herself bound to the bishop of Rome by the links of faith and union. Among the bishops who sat in the council held at Arles<sup>2</sup> A.D. 314, were Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of Lincoln, who joined with the rest of the assembled prelates in subscribing the letter sent by them to Pope Silvester, along with the canons which they had drawn

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<sup>1</sup> *Epist. CONSTANTINI IMPERATORIS ad Ecclesias. Concil. Œcum. Nicæn. Concil. Gen. t. i. p. 354, ed. Binio.*

<sup>2</sup> BREVIARIUM EPISTOLÆ.

Domino Sanctissimo, fratri Silvestro, Marinus vel cætus episcoporum qui adunati fuerunt in oppido Arelatensi, quid decre-

up. In this epistle, the above-named British bishops, who filled the chief sees in our ancient Church, united with their episcopal brethren in thus addressing the Roman pontiff: "Abiding in the bond of love,<sup>1</sup> and the unity of our mother the Church Catholic, we salute thee, most glorious Pope. Oh, that thou hadst,<sup>2</sup> most well beloved brother, deemed it of such importance as to have been present at so great a

verimus communi concilio charitati tuæ significavimus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum observare debeant.

#### CANONES.

##### 1º. *Ut uno die et tempore Pascha celebretur.*

Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Dominici, ut uno die, et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur et juxta consuetudinem litteras ad omnes tu dirigas, &c.

Internomina episcoporum cum clericis suis, quinam et ex quibus provinciis ad Arelatensem synodum convenerint;—sunt Claudianus et Vitus presbyteri, Eugenius et Ciriacus Diacones, ex urbe Roma missi a Silvestro episcopo.

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Eborius episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia.  
 Restitutus episcopus, de civitate London, provincia supradicta.  
 Adelfius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium, exinde  
 Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus.

CONCILIIUM ARELATENSE, sub Silvestro P. A.D. 314, apud Spelman t. i. *Conciliorum*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>1</sup> Communi copula charitatis et unitate Matris ecclesiæ Catholicæ vinculo inhærentes,—Te gloriosissime Papa commerita reverentia salutamus. *Ep. Syn. Arel. ad SYLVESTRUM PAPAM*, t. i. *Concil.* p. 270, ed. Binio.

<sup>2</sup> Utinam, frater dilectissime, ad hoc tantum spectaculum interesse tanti fecisses, profecto credimus quia in eos severior fuisset sententia prolata: et Te pariter nobiscum judicante, cœtus noster majori lætitia exultasset. *Ibid.*



spectacle ; we thoroughly believe that the sentence passed upon those men (the Donatists) would have been much stronger ; and having Thee sitting along with us in judgment, our assembly would have rejoiced with much greater gladness.” Then respectfully giving Pope Silvester an account of all that they had done, and submitting to his holiness the several canons they had framed, they notice that the following votes had been passed by the council : “ It hath pleased<sup>1</sup> that chiefly by Thee, who dost hold the greater diocesses, these canons should be announced to all. In the first place, concerning the observance of our Lord’s pasch, that it may be kept by us throughout the world, upon the same day, and at the same time ; and thou shouldst, according to custom, send letters to all.”

With such ancient and such authentic documentary evidence staring them in the face, well may such learned and straightforward men as Dr. Smith, the Protestant editor of Beda’s Ecclesiastical History, observe that “ the controversy on the Easter<sup>2</sup> question had nothing to do with faith and soundness of belief, belonging, as it did, to discipline alone ;” and that “ it ought to be particularly borne in mind<sup>3</sup> that those who think that the Britons were taught

<sup>1</sup> Placuit etiam antequam a te qui majores dioceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari. *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> In omni fere sæculo ingenti contentione agitata est de die Paschatis controversia. Quæ licet nihil ad Christianæ religionis integritatem aut puritatem, sed ad disciplinam solam spectare videatur, &c. SMITH in *Appendice Num. ix. ad Bedam. p. 694.*

<sup>3</sup> Notandum est illos vehementer errare, qui putant Britannos non a Romanis et Occidentalibus, sed ab Orientalibus ritum Paschatis edoctos. Diserte enim testatur Constantinus in epis-

the paschal rite by the Orientals or Eastern Church, and not by the Romans and the Western Church, give way to a very great error.”

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tola quam de hac re scripsit, eodem modo, ac Romæ, in Britannia Pascha celebrari solitum. SMITH *in Appen. ix. ad Bedam. p. 696.*

THE END.

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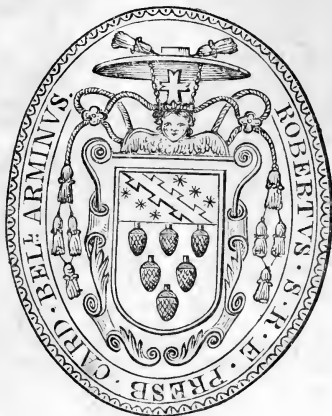
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